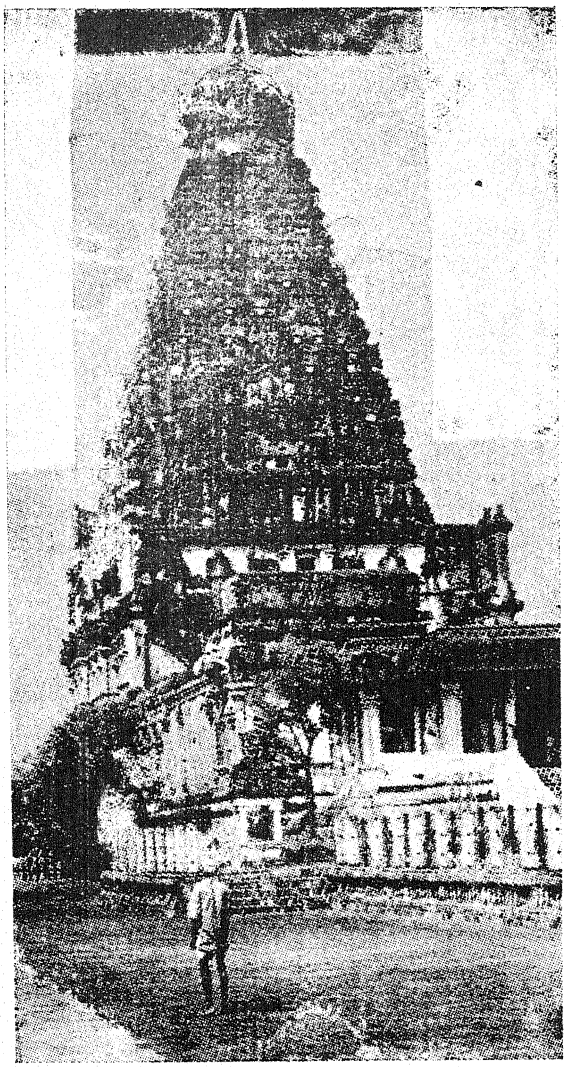
TAMILS AND CEYLON



Before the building of Westminster Abbey in the city of London, the Rajeswara temple of Tanjore was built by Rajaraja I (985-1016) the greatest of the Chola kings and an ardent devotee of Siva. It is the most beautiful and effective of Dravidian buildings. The Nandi (Siva's bull) in front of the shrine is the second biggest in India.

TAMILS AND CEYLON

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD UP TO THE END OF THE JAFFNA DYNASTY WITH A CHART OF IMPORTANT EVENTS UP TO 1900.

★
74758
New Delhi

BY

C. S. NAVARATNAM
(LATE OF THE TUTORIAL STAFF OF MANIPAY HINDU COLLEGE)

23.1.1987
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Printed at the
Saiva Prakasa Press, Jaffna

Dedicated to the Memory
of my Beloved Wife
— Saraswathy. —

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FOREWORD

That the connection of the Tamils with Ceylon goes back to a remote period of antiquity—a period anterior to the coming of Vijaya to the Island, can hardly be doubted. This view is supported by no less an authority on the history of Ceylon than Sir Paul Pieris, who has thrown much light on the early history of Jaffna which he identifies with Naga Dipa, one of the sacred places, mentioned in the Mahavamsa. In his valuable monograph on Naga Dipa, he says: "It stands to reason that a country which is only thirty miles from India, and which would have been seen by the Indian fishermen every morning when they sailed out to catch their fish, would have been occupied as soon as the continent was peopled by men who understood how to sail. I suggest that the North of Ceylon was a flourishing settlement, centuries before Vijaya was born."

From the time of Vijaya the Tamils have occupied an important place in the history of Ceylon. The Mahavamsa states that Vijaya married a Pandya princess who was brought from Madura in South India, and who was accompanied by "a thousand families of the eighteen guilds." It is well-known that during the early period of the history of Ceylon, there were Tamil rulers at

Anuradhapura, the most famous among whom was Elara the Just. The Pandyas, the Pallavas, and the Cholas of South India made their power felt in Ceylon from time to time. The Cholas occupied Ceylon for about a century, after the conquest of the Island by Raja Raja I at the beginning of the 11th century. Parakrama Bahu the Great was the descendant of a Pandya prince who had come to Ceylon during the 12th century. The Pandyas held sway in the Island for some time during the 14th century. The Arya Chakravartis of Jaffna who rose to power in the 14th century extended their influence over the greater part of the Island. Bhuvaneka Bahu VI was a Tamil, and his successors were the rulers of Ceylon till it came under the occupation of the Portuguese. The last four Kings of Kandy represented an offshoot of a Dynasty which had established itself at Madura under the suzerainty of the Vijayanagar Empire.

No one has attempted so far to present the history of the Tamils in Ceylon, in a compass adequate to its importance. The late Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam and Father S. Gnanapragasar had done much valuable research in connection with the history of Jaffna, and had published their works on that subject. It is to the credit of Mr. C. S. Navaratnam that in the work which he is publishing, "Tamils and Ceylon," he has made a comprehensive survey of the history of the Tamils in Ceylon, including the history of Jaffna. He is a pioneer in this field of historical work. He has

collected material from a large number of available sources, and has made the work a valuable book of reference, useful for further research in this direction. The book bespeaks his historical grasp and his attention to the various aspects of the subject dealt with by him.

Mr. Navaratnam has given due attention to an aspect of the subject which needs to be specially stressed today. Those who are superficially acquainted with the history of Ceylon are apt to forget that ~~how~~ the Tamils made their influence felt in the constructive spheres of activity in Ceylon, Mr. Navaratnam shows in his book that Tamil influence has been pervasive in the development of Agriculture, Irrigation, Trade, Architecture and Social Customs from the early period of Ceylon history. There can be no doubt that the Tamils co-operated with the Sinhalese to build up a Society which could be proud of a great civilization, It must be remembered, in this connection, that most of the so-called invasions of the Tamils were not wanton acts of aggression on the part of the Tamils, but were either the result of rival princes claiming the throne of Ceylon, and seeking the help of Tamil armies from South India, or were acts of reprisals brought about by the intervention of Sinhalese Kings in wars between the Pandyas whom they befriended and the Cholas who were building up an Empire in South India,

The incorporation of several Tamil words relating to Land Tenure, Irrigation, Trade, and Ad-

ministration into the Sinhalese Language gives us an idea of the extent to which Tamil influence prevailed especially in the medieval period of Ceylon history. Among the helpful facts of history Mr. Navaratnam has brought out in his book; one relates to the place of honour accorded to the Tamil Language in the court of Sinhalese Kings. How much one wishes that past history could guide us to solve the language problem in Ceylon, which is a source of conflict and tension today!

Ramanathan College,
Chunnakam.

S. Natesan.

PREFACE

An attempt has been made as far as possible with the available materials at my disposal to present a general survey of the history of the Tamils in Ceylon from the earliest period up to the end of the Jaffna Dynasty. The fact, that the Tamils were an integral part of the permanent population of the Island from time immemorial, and that they made a distinct contribution to the growth and development of this country, has all been glossed over by many historians. I have endeavoured in this small book to make good this deficiency in a modest way, and in so doing I do not claim to have made a comprehensive survey of the history of this royal race during the period under review.

Having given a general idea of the history of the Tamil people in Chapter I, I have sought evidences to show the prevalence of a Tamil cult in the Island long before Vijaya's arrival. Further I have dealt with the rivalry for power and overlordship of the Island between the two major races, and the final division of the country into two main kingdoms. Then I have attempted to convey the shuttle-cock warfare between the two kingdoms for the suzerainty of the Island, and how in the end a third party from over the seas overcame them, and subjugated them.

For the regnal years of Sinhalese kings I have followed Geiger's edition of the Mahavamsa, but from Bhuvaneka Bahu I to Para-

krama Bahu VI, I have preferred to follow the regnal years given by Mr. H. W. Codrington which appear to be more correct. As the regnal years of the kings between Mahasena (362 A. C.) and Mahanama (409 A. C.) is not exactly known, I have not mentioned their dates.

There has been great difficulty in the identification of Tamil names in Portuguese history books. The spelling of those names as found in their records is retained e. g. Eleagora, Mudaliyar Oriculnar, Gago, Maminhas, etc.

Whenever references are made to Sinhalese texts, they are either based on English translations of the same, or based on the statements of authoritative writers.

A list of writers in Tamil and English who flourished in Ceylon is appended. In addition a chart of important events from 483 B C. up to 1900, which are of importance to Tamils is also attached.

I am indebted to the late Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam for some of the Tamil quotations, and their English translations on pages 43, 47, 83, 102, and 124.

My best thanks are also due to the librarians of the Ceylon Royal Asiatic Society, the Jaffna Central Library, and to the officers in charge of the Jaffna Museum for having been good enough to place at my disposal the necessary books whenever I wanted them.

I owe a deep debt of gratitude to Mr. V. Veerasingam J. P., M. B. E. for having been

good enough to go through my manuscripts with patience, and for his valuable suggestions.

I am also greatly obliged to Mr. S. Natesan B. A., B. L., the great Tamil scholar and educationist, for giving me a valuable foreword for this book.

Finally, I thank the management of the Saiva Prakasa Press for their best services in bringing out this book for me.

As the sources of material for the production of a work of this kind are extensive, sometimes contradictory and complex, I crave the indulgence of my readers to condone its defects, if there be any.

Navaly, Manipay,
14-1-1958.

C. S. Navaratnam.

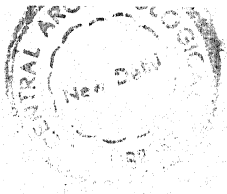
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ABBREVIATIONS.

A. S. C.—Archaeological Survey of Ceylon.
E. Z.- Epigraphia Zeylanica.
(J) R. A. S. Vol.—(Journal Ceylon Branch) of the Royal Asiatic Society Volume.
Arch. S. S. I.—Archaeological Survey of South India.
Raj (B. Gun)—Rajavaliya B.Gunasekara's Translation.
Seg. Astrology—Segarajasekaram Astrological work.
D. Kailaya Puranam—Dakshana Kailaya Puranam.
Akam—Akananuru.
Puram—Purananuru.
Sil.—Silappadikaram.
Mani.—Manimekalai.



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CHAPTER I

AN ANCIENT DRAVIDIAN PEOPLE

Mohenjo Daro and Harappa

THE Dravidians were the first cultured people to inhabit the plains of Hindustan. This fact was proved by the excavations of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa. Ever afterwards, the old theory, that everything, that was great in Hindu civilization, was the contribution of the Aryans, had to be revised in the light of this new knowledge. These Dravidians differed in many ways from the Aryans, who migrated into India about 2000 B. C. These ancient Dravidians were worshippers of the Mother Goddess, and practised temple worship from the dawn of history. Siva as Pasupathy seems to have been worshipped by them. Many of the elements of Saivism were found in their belief. The bull* and not

* When Saivism went abroad on its strange missionary journey many centuries before Christ, the bull became sacred in Palestine and Egypt. Zivo or Sivo became the protecting deity among the Lapps. Siva in his creative power became Zeus of the Greeks the three eyed sky-god associated with Mt. Olympus, as Siva with Mt. Kailas; Siva and Uma (she, his inherent energy) are inseparable and is spoken of exoterically as the left part. Another name of Siva is Ardha-Narisa, the half-female Lord. The Greeks say of Zeus: "Zeus was a male, Zeus was a deathless virgin."



the cow was their object of veneration. Their civilization came to an end about 2500 B. C. Sir John Marshal says on the religion of Mohenjo Daro: "But taken as a whole their religion is so characteristically Indian as hardly to be distinguishable from still living Hinduism or at least from that aspect of it, which is bound up with animism, and the cults of Siva and the mother Goddess—still the two most potent forces in popular worship. Among the many revelations, that Mohenjo Daro and Harappa have had in store for us, none perhaps is more remarkable than this discovery, that Saivism had a history going back to the Chalcolithic age or perhaps further still, and that it takes its place as the most ancient living faith in the world."

Dravidians

They had a matriarchal society and practised cross-cousin marriages. They influenced the Aryans, as the Aryans influenced them. Malayalam, Tamil, Canarese, and Telugu are called Dravidian languages and the people who speak them are loosely called Dravidians. In very ancient times the Dravidian group of languages were spoken of as Tamil.

The Tamil Language

The Tamils form an important section of the Dravidian race. Their language has been the parent of many of the Dravidian languages as Malayalam, Telugu, and Canarese. "Tamil," says the author of an article in the Theosophist, "is one of the oldest languages of India, if not of the world. Its birth and infancy are

enveloped in mythology. As in the case of Sanskrit we cannot say, when Tamil became a literary language. The oldest Tamil works extant belong to a time about 2000 years ago, of high and cultured refinement in Tamil poetic literature. All the religious and philosophical poetry of Sanskrit has become fused into Tamil, which language contains a larger number of popular treatises in occultism, alchemy etc, than even Sanskrit." It contains, however, an extraordinary number of philosophical terms. Few nations on earth can boast of so many poets as the Tamils. "They", Abbe Dubois says, "have not a single ancient book that is written in prose not even books on medicine." Tamil has a devotional literature which cannot easily be surpassed. Among the living languages of the world it has the most voluminous literature on mysticism. The inimitable 'Kural' is a great book on ethics. It is at the same time a popular book on wisdom. There is hardly any language in the world, that has not only survived the mighty upheavals of historical processes, but has also grown from strength to strength retaining its innate virility and beauty.

The Tamil Kingdoms

Long before the Christian era the Tamils formed themselves into three kingdoms known as Chera, Chola, and Pandya and built up a distinctive culture and civilization of their own. Katyayana, the grammarian of the fourth century B. C., when he commented on Panini's grammar, has made references to the kingdoms of Chera, Chola, and Pandya. Kautilya of the time of

Chandragupta (322—298 B. C.) in his book 'Arthasastra' speaks of the pearls of the Tambraparni river of the Pandya country and of the fine cotton fabrics of Madura. Such was the greatness of the Tamil country before the beginning of the Christian era.

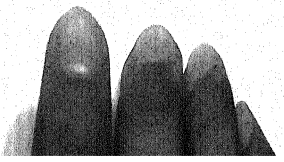
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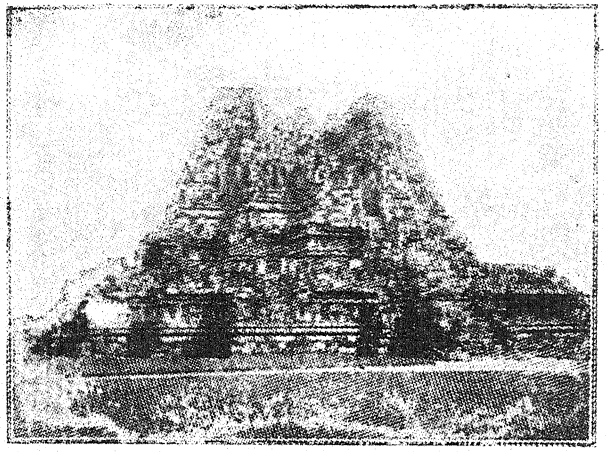
THE SANGAM AGE

The South Indian history before (A. C. 300) is known as the Sangam age. These Sangams were assemblies of poets held at the courts of the Pandyan kings. The Sangam works reveal the lives of the people in town and in country. They speak of a rich and cultured people with a great civilization. They tell us the relation of the Tamil states with Yavanas—Greeks and Romans. Most of the works are lyrics on love and heroism. The Tolkappiyam, the oldest grammar in Tamil, belongs to this period. Sangam literature was the outcome of the meeting of the Tamil and Aryan cultures. When during this period the Aryan culture was infiltrating into the Tamil lands, the Tamils did not lose their individuality and their spirit of independence. It was during this time Buddhism and Jainism became popular, and they too greatly influenced the thought and literature of the Tamil country.

Commerce and Trade

During the Sangam period the Aryans of North India were not proficient in navigation and





Paramban – Ruins of a Hindu Temple in Central Java.

it was the Tamils who carried on trade with the neighbouring countries like Cambodia, Malaya, and the Mediterranean lands. As the Tamil country had an immense coastline extending to a thousand miles on three sides, the Tamils became the greatest seafaring people of Southern Asia in ancient and medieval times. Their ports like Musiri, Kavirippumpattinam, Kotkai, and Mantai in North Ceylon became the highway for all trade between the Far-East and the Near-East. There are archaeological records to prove of trade between Northern Philippines and Southern India in the first millenium B. C. Chinese sources record of Indian traders bringing Indian products by sea as far back as the seventh century B. C. In Kanchi, the capital of the Pallavas, there was a Chinese embassy in the second century B. C. This has been confirmed by the discovery of a Chinese coin of about the same date.

Cultural Links

At a time when Christianity was in its cradle, daring Tamil sailors and traders were forging cultural links with countries like Java (Yavadvipa), Sumatra (Suvarnadvipa), Malaya (Malayadvipa), and Cambodia (Kambuja). In the first few centuries of the Christian era the culture of these countries was mainly Hindu This fact has been endorsed by the famous Chinese traveller Fa-Hien, who passed Java in the beginning of the fifth century A. C. In the second and third century A. C. a Hindu kingdom, known as Panduranga to-day known as Phangrung, flourished in the heart of Annam. Inscriptions found

in Cambodia are in the Sanskrit language written in the Pallava script of South India.

Tamils and the Eastern Mediterranean Lands

Trade between South India and the Eastern Mediterranean lands existed during the Hellenistic period, and continued more actively during the ascendency of the Roman Empire. Rice was the common food among the Greeks during the time of Sophocles in 450 B. C. The spices* and other articles, which the Greeks obtained from South India were all known by Tamil names. In return the Greeks brought wine, vases, lamps, and beads of various kinds. The fleets of King Solomon piloted by adventurous seamen of Phoenicia called at the seaports of South India and Mantai in Ceylon. There were South Indian settlements in Alexandria in Egypt, and a colony of Alexandrians had a settlement in the coasts of Malabar. Megasthenes, a Greek representative in the court of Chandragupta, in 303 B. C. wrote about the social life and the high standard of civilization of the Pandyan Kingdom.

Tamils and the Romans

The anonymous writer of Periplus in A. C. 75 gives a description of the trade between Rome and South India. A large number of Roman

* Tamil words like Arisi - rice, Inchiver - ginger, Karuva-cinnamon and Thippali - long pepper became in Greek Oriza-gingiber, karpion and pippali. Similarly Tamil words ipam-ivory, Kapi - monkey, ahil - a fragrant wood, tokai-peacock, became in Hebrew, Ibha, Kapi ahalim, tukeyim.

coins were unearthed in South India in the vicinity of ancient ports. Roman coins of the early emperors were found at Mantai. Roman coins of the fourth and fifth centuries were found in most ports along the coasts, but in Sigiriya a large hoard was found. A Pandyan embassy was sent to Rome during the time of Augustus Caesar.

Tamils and Babylonia

In the seventh century B. C. Babylonia was at the height of its grandeur, and was a market of the world. To this centre ships from South India took products like rice, peacock, teak, and sandalwood. All articles that were taken by sea bore Dravidian names and not Sanskrit. A beam of Indian cedar was found in the palace of Nebuchadnezzar (604-561 B. C.) in Babylon. There were teak logs in the temple of the Moon God at Ur. Teak is a product of Malabar, and those logs must have been taken by South Indian traders.

★

THE KINGDOMS OF SOUTH INDIA

Chera Period (1)

The first Chera monarch we hear is Udiyanjeral a very charitable monarch who reigned in 130 A. C. His son Nedunjeral Adan is said to have fought many wars and campaigned for many years with his armies. He was called Adhirajar on account of the many lands he

subjected and ruled. He was also called 'Imayar-varamban', because the limit of his kingdom extended to the Himalayas His capital was Marandai. His famous son was Senguttuvan who established the Pattini cult, the worship of Kannakai as the ideal wife.

The poems of the Sangam period give vivid descriptions of the Chera country and the lives of the people. Musiri, their prosperous port, had trade with the Yavanas (Greeks and Romans). The 'Padirruppattu', a Sangam work mentions a conflict between the Chera king and the Yavanas.

The greater part of the Chera kingdom is now known as Malabar. The language of its people is Malayalam which is an offshoot of old Tamil. It became a literary language as late as the twelfth century, and became firmly established only in the fourteenth century.

Kalabhras Period (2)

About the beginning of the fourth century the Kalabhras an independent tribe rose to power, and overran the Chera, the Chola, and the Pandyan kingdoms. The Pallavas at this time tried to maintain their independence. The Kalabhras favoured the Buddhists, and in their period Buddhism flourished in South India and Jainism too became popular. Though there was a good deal of literary activity, this period between the third and sixth centuries is considered a dark period in South Indian history. The Kalabhras were considered as enemies of

civilization by the Tamils for they upset the established political order.

Literature

The Manimekalai is a Buddhist epic of this period, which tells the life story of Manimekalai the daughter of Madhavi by Kovalan. This grand epic is the work of Sattanar. Another great epic of this period and an unsurpassed gem in Tamil literature is the Silappadikaram by Ilango-Adigal (prince-monk), the reputed brother of the Chera monarch Senguttuvan.

A great change in the lives of the people characterized this period. The faith in good and abundant living, that animated the people of the Sangam age, gradually gave way to a puritanic outlook of life greatly due to Buddhism and its philosophy.

The Pallava Period (A.C. 300—900) (3)

This period is important in the history of the Tamils, for it represents the impact of an Aryan civilization on Dravidian culture. The culture of North India found its way to the South through the Pallavas. They had an extensive trade which brought them immense wealth. It was during this period that the civilization of the Tamils spread to distant lands of South-East Asia. The Kings of this dynasty were the first to build an empire in South India. Their capitals Kanchipuram and Amaravati were the seats of learning and culture. Music, art, literature, and drama flourished under the patronage of the Pallava kings. This period is also

important for the revival of Hinduism in South India.

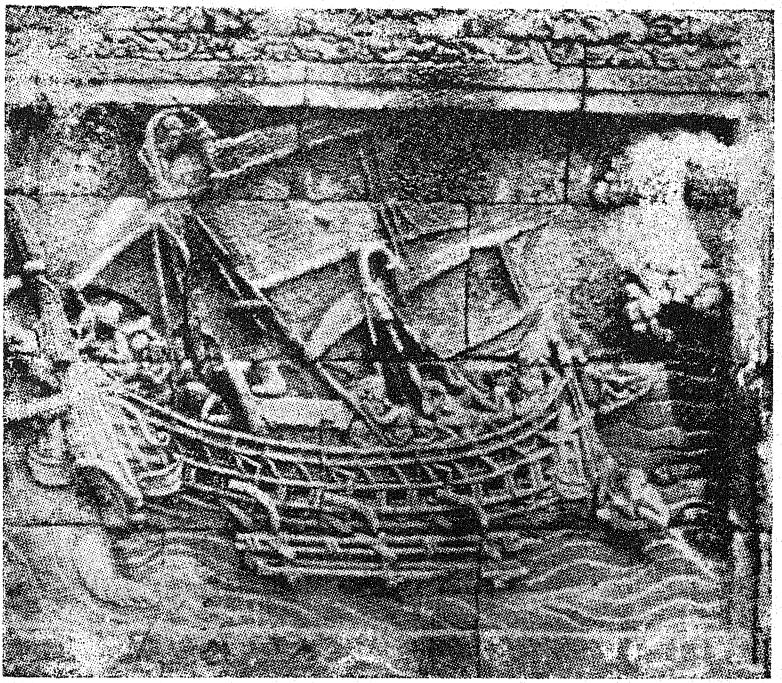
The Pallava kings never attempted a conquest of Ceylon. Manavamma, son of Kassapa II, when he was overthrown by Dathopatissa, fled to India, where he took service with the Pallava king. He took part in his wars. Afterwards Narasimhavarman the Pallava king helped him in return to regain the throne of Lanka. Manavamma reigned for thirty two years and then gave place to Agbo V. To-day there are a few pieces of Pallava architecture in Ceylon to remind us of their influence.

Revival of Saivism and Vaishnavism

The Bhakti movement, a fervid emotional surrender to God, found literary expression in the Bhagavatapurana and in the Thevaram of the Saivite saints. Numerous temples were built by the Pallava kings for the first time in stone for the worship of Brahma, Siva, and Vishnu. This great wave of religious enthusiasm attained its peak by the inspiring hymns of St. Appar, St. Sambandar, and St. Sundarar. The Vaishnava movement of the Bhakti school is represented by the twelve Alvars. The result was that Buddhism and Jainism disappeared from the Tamil country.

Trade and Colonization

At this time there lived a seafaring people known as 'Thirayar' in the Coromandel coasts (Chola Mandalam). They were known as 'Sina Thirayar' (those who visit China), 'Siath Thirayar'



From a bas-relief at Borobodur Central Java. An out-rigger sailing ship carrying colonists and their families from India to Java in the early Christian era. Probably they are Tamil colonists sailing in ships manned by Tamil sailors.

(those who visit Siam), and 'Savaka Thirayar' (those who visit Java). The people of South India especially those of the Pallava country carried on a planned colonization of Indonesia which lasted several centuries. Mighty ruins still tell us of the temples and palaces that once adorned these Indian settlements. For four hundred or five hundred years these settlements remained Hindu in religion, and later on Buddhism spread all over.

The spirit of adventure that characterized the Pallavas pushed them further even to the Philippines. Some years ago, when a new legislative building was put up in Manilla, the capital of the Philippines, four figures were carved on one of its walls representing four sources of Philippine culture. One of these figures was Manu the law-giver of India. Some Tamil adventurers seem to have gone further to New Zealand. In 1769 when Captain James Cook was exploring the coasts of New Zealand, he was shown a huge bronze bell by the natives. The script on the bell was afterwards deciphered to be Tamil.

The Pandyas (4)

The Pandya kingdom occupied the very southern end of the Indian peninsula. It consisted of the districts of Madura, Ramnad, Tinnevelly and some parts of Travancore. Madura was its capital even in the ninth century B. C.* The Ramayana, a work of the pre - Christian era exalts the grandeur of Madura. In the second and thirteenth rock

* Tamil Plutrach - Simon Casie Chetty.

edicts of Asoka the kingdoms of South India are mentioned. They were his border states. The mere mention of these states in the third century B. C. is to indicate a certain level of culture they had attained under good governments. Further Kharavela, the ruler of Kalinga, in 165 B. C. states in an inscription that he had destroyed a hundred and thirteen years old confederacy of Tamil states. It means that the confederacy of Tamil states were formed in 278 B. C. Viyaya, the reputed ancestor of the Sinhalese race, in the fifth century B. C. sent an embassy to the king of Madura, and got for himself a princess consort and wives for his seven hundred followers. Ptolemy in the second century A. C. gives details of the ports of South India which indicate they were celebrated in that ancient period.

Literature

The Maduraikkanji of Mangudi Marudan, an important Sangam work, treats about Nedunjeliyan a great Pandyan king and two of his predecessors. The tragedy of Kovalan's death occurred in his reign. This event afterwards caused the king to die of a broken heart. The early Sangam works indicate, that there was peace and contentment in the Pandyan country.

The period, that immediately followed the Sangam period, was the age of Tiruvalluvar. He emphasized on 'Aram'* for good conduct and

* The performance of good works prescribed by the Shastras including justice, hospitality liberty etc.

behaviour, and his ideal man was 'Santron'.* The 'Aram', that Valluvar emphasized, bloomed into the Bhakti in the succeeding centuries. Tiruvathuradigal, afterwards known as St. Manickkavasagar, an illustrious minister of a Pandyan king, gave the finishing touches to the Bhakti school with his inimitable Tiruvasagam (the sacred hymn that liberates the seeker from bondage).

First Pandyan Empire

The first empire of the Pandyas began with the conquests of Maravarman (A. C. 670—710). Afterwards Nedunjadaiyan (A. C. 765—815) succeeded in extending the territories. He seems to have been the virtual ruler of the entire Tamil country. The constant warfare of the Pandyas made of their kingdom a military state. Sri Vallabha (A. C. 815—862) was a great Pandyan ruler. Once at Kumbakonam he defeated a combination of the forces of the Pallavas, the Gangas, the Kalingas and the Chalukyas. Sri Vallabha was the first Pandyan king to attempt the conquest of Ceylon. The eclipse of the first Pandyan empire came with the rise of the Cholas in the ninth century.

Second Pandyan Empire, 1190—1338

The power of the Pandyas declined in the next three centuries, and rose again at the close of the twelfth century. Under Sundara Pandya II the Pandyan kingdom reached its

* The perfect man endowed with honour, greatness culture, benevolence, and grace.

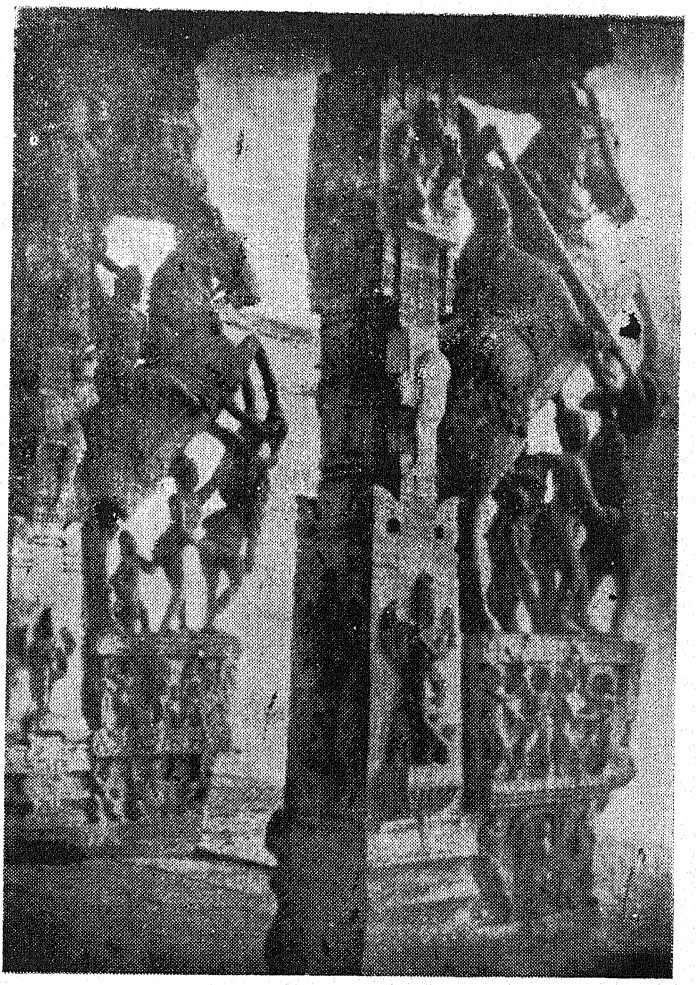
highest glory. The Muslim invasions of the early fourteenth century brought the Pandyan empire to an end. Thus ended a great line of kings from the ninth century B. C. to the fourteenth century A. C.

Vandalism

When the Muslim hordes poured into Southern India, and took Parakrama Pandyan as captive to Delhi, the Tamils had to bemoan the loss of their great literary productions also. The Muslims ransacked the great libraries and committed to flames "all that genius had reared for ages." They carried away everything valuable they could lay hands on. The people were robbed of their belongings, and the temples were stripped of their wealth. The oppression of the people by the Muslims compelled many Tamils from the Pandya country to migrate to the Jaffna peninsula as peaceful colonists, and many went to South Ceylon to better themselves under Sinhalese kings.

Achievements

The Pandya rulers paid great attention to irrigation. They administered the country justly. The kings claimed divine descent and protected the people against enemies. Though the king in theory was an autocrat, there were several factors that restricted them in practice. Under their patronage music, art, and literature flourished. They built magnificient temples and endowed them. Their temples became the centres of culture and learning. The temples of Madura, Srirangam, and Rameswaram are some of their great



Horse-court or Seshagirimandapam at Sriirangam, "A colonnade of furiously fighting steeds each rearing up to a height of nearly nine feet the whole executed in a technique so emphatic as to be not like stone but hardened steel."

temples in South India. They showed their artistic talents in the 'gopurams' (gateways) and the 'Kaliyanamandapam' of these temples.

The close proximity of the Pandya kingdom to Ceylon has greatly influenced the social, cultural, ethnological, and political aspects of the people of this country. Ceylon's political relations with the Pandyas drew Ceylon into the whirlpool of South Indian politics.

The Cholas (5)

The Cholas are mentioned in the Mahabharata and in Asokan inscriptions. Karikalan was an able Chola monarch of the second century A. C. He was the first to bring all the Tamil kingdoms under one rule. Once he defeated the combined armies of the Cheras and Pandyas, and established his supremacy in the South. In his conquests he is said to have advanced towards the North even as far as the Ganges. He is said to have made an invasion of Ceylon, and carried away 12,000 men as prisoners of war. He made use of these men in the great irrigation works of the Kaveri basin. With his death the power of the Cholas declined.

Rise of the Cholas

The real ascendency of the Cholas begins in the middle of the ninth century. Their capitals were Tanjore and Uraiyur (Tiruchirappalli) and their port was Kavirippumpattinam.* Vijayalaya

* In Tamil the word 'pattinam' is often added to the names of ports, e. g. Yalpana pattinam.

was a great ruler of the Cholas. Under Rajaraja (985—1016) the foundations of the Chola empire were laid. His empire included the whole of the Madras Presidency, Mysore, Coorag, and the Northern part of Ceylon. As the Cholas had a good navy they conqured the Andamans, the Maladive Islands and Laccadive Islands. Under Rajendra I (1014—1044) Chola power reached its zenith. He is even said to have conqured Orissa and entered Bengal. He waged a war against Sri Vijaya the kingdom of Sumatra, and subdued that country. As his conquest reached the Ganges, he commemorated it by building a new capital 'Gangaikondacholapuram.' His successors had not the ability of the previous Chola sovereigns and could not retain the lands inherited by them.

Chola rule in Ceylon lasted from 1003—1070, but the Northern part seems to have been under them from 944 A. C. for a period of 126 years.

The Chola period is the Augustan age of Tamilakam. It was the golden period in Tamil history. If the Pallavas had reared monuments in stone, and if the Pandyas, the Ptolemys of India had cradled and nourished the Tamil language, then under the Cholas architecture, sculpture, music, and literature attained their highest perfection

Literature

It was the period of Kambar of Ramayana fame. It was also the age of celebrated poets like Puhalendi and Ottakuttar. It was the period

of Nambiandar Nambi, and Shekilar. Meikandar and Arulnandi Sivachchariar presented their classic works on the philosophy of Saivism. In these works an attempt is made to solve the problems of God, the soul, nature, humanity, evil and suffering. One scholar writes: "As a system of religious thought, as an expression of faith and life, the Saiva Siddhanta is by far the best that South India possesses." Shortly speaking under the Cholas the Saivite faith reached untold heights and flourished.

Architecture and Sculpture

Chola architecture is the finest example of Hindu architecture in South India. The Rajeswara temple of Tanjore is the finest example of Chola architecture. Its 'vimana'—the edifice of the main shrine—is 190 feet high with a pinnacle of one stone weighing 80 tons. The bronze statues of this period are the best of their kind in the world. The productions of the eleventh and twelfth centuries show classic grace, grandeur, and unique taste.

Administration

The Cholas evolved an excellent system of central and local administration, and it was the best of the age. They maintained a powerful army and navy to protect their empire which was the greatest in Indian history since the empire of Chandragupta. They were the greatest naval power in the history of India. Their irrigation works are a marvel even in this age of science and engineering. (The irrigation system of Southern Deccan is so very ancient that we

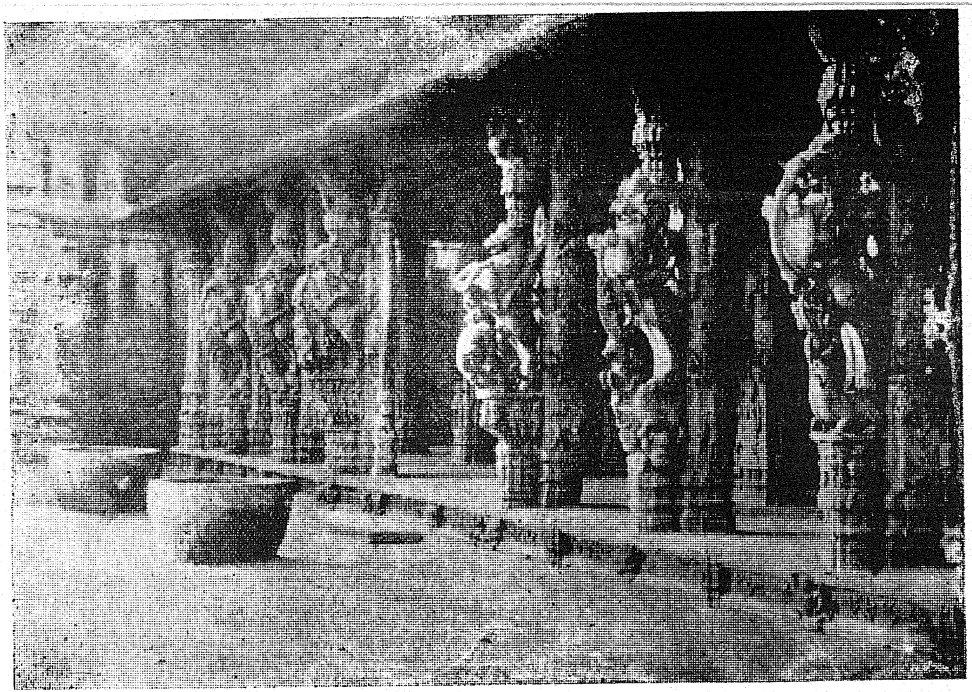
are led to believe that it is as old as agriculture itself). Under them for the first time the Tamil speaking people of South India were brought under one political administration.

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THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF SOUTH INDIA

North India was subjected to several invasions by various peoples of Central Asia called Baktrians, Sakas, Scythians, Turkis, and Kushans. Muslims invaded North India about the tenth century; as a result, North India developed a composite culture. On the other hand South India through a thousand years or more preserved the Indo-Aryan traditions not only in religion, but also in art and in politics. Megasthenes says about this period that popular assemblies of elders restricted the power of kings. In the field of culture South India repaid to the North more than what she received.

In civil life the Brahmans occupied a high status and generally devoted themselves to religious and literary pursuits. The study of Sanskrit was the monopoly of the Brahmans, and a knowledge of that language was a mark of culture. Robert de Nobili in a letter of 1610 says, that in Madura there were 10,000 students who went to the Professor of Philosophy and Theology. The institution of caste was universally accepted, and the king endeavoured to uphold this social order. Emphasis was always laid on the performance of one's duties rathar than on the rights and privileges of a citizen. The temple was not only a place



The wonderfully carved pillars of the Kalyanamandapam at Vellore. Each pillar differs from its neighbour, and the details of the carving are still sharp and clear after having braved the elements for centuries. A Ruskin would have stood enraptured before one of these pillars.

of worship, but was also a cultural centre for all the arts and crafts of their time. The major section of the population lived in the villages, and agriculture was their main source of income. The merchants formed themselves into guilds and traded with all foreign countries. Ships from all parts of the world visited their ports.

The total disappearance of Buddhism from the Tamil land, and from the whole of India, the land of its birth, is one of the greatest historical events that occurred in the world. This change is mainly attributed to the great thinkers of South India as Sri Sankara, St. Sambandar etc.

A people, who produced two great epics as the Manimekalai and Silappadikaram seventeen centuries ago, should surely be considered as a great and cultured people. If there be any country in the world where the emotional aspect of religion has been emphasized, then it is India. In India, if there be any province where this aspect has been greatly emphasized, then it is the Tamil country. No people whether living or extinct, had ever reared so massive and ornate temples to their gods as the Tamils of these ancient kingdoms. They, throughout their long period of chequered history, preserved their individuality and their spirit of adventure. Such great characteristics had helped them to preserve their language and culture from dying.

CHAPTER II.

PRE-VIJAYAN PERIOD IN CEYLON

South India and Ceylon

FROM all what has been said of the Tamils and their command of the sea we are led to infer that the Tamils, who were in close proximity to the northern coasts of Ceylon, must have had close connections with Ceylon many centuries before the coming of Vijaya. A people, who had sailed the seas and established trade relations with South China and the Mediterranean countries before the seventh century B. C., could not have failed to have trade relations with Ceylon before Vijaya. "It will be seen" says Sir Paul. E. Pieris, "that the village of Kanterodai has no reason to be ashamed of its contribution towards the increase of our knowledge regarding the ancient history of our Island. It stands to reason that a country which is only thirty miles from India and which would have been seen by the Indian fishermen every morning as they sailed out to catch their fish would have been occupied as soon as the continent was peopled by men who understood how to sail. I suggest that the North of Ceylon was a flourishing settlement centuries before Vijaya was born. I consider it proved that at any rate such was its condition before the commencement of the Christian era."*

* R. A. S. Vol. XXVIII. No. 72, Page 65.

Excavations at Puttalam

The long lines of ruins in the north-western coasts of Ceylon from Kalpitiya to Kanterodai, in the Jaffna peninsula speak of a civilization of a by-gone age. The urn-burials that were unearthed at the 21st mile post on the Puttalam Marichchukaddi road in 1955 is a landmark in the history of the pre-Vijayan period. Similar urn-burials were discovered at Adichanallur on the banks of the Tambraparni in the years 1926-30. They were supposed to be of the twelfth century B. C. These urn-burials are supported by the poems of 'Purananuru' of the Sangam period. They say such burials were then an extent custom. The Adichanallur burials reveal the existence of Murukan worship in South India in the second millenium B. C. His weapon the vel (lance) and his emblem the fowl all in bronze were found in these burials. The discovery of similar urn-burials in Ceylon speaks of a Tamil culture in the pre-Vijayan period.

A collection of ancient coins were found at Kalpitiya in 1839.* They were contained in a pot buried in the earth at a depth of three feet from the surface. The coins were more or less similar and were extremely worn-out, but some were clear and were in good condition. Some say that the coins were a hoard buried for security, but as their quality was so inferior it is highly improbable. The figures found in these coins were Hanuman, the monkey king, Vishnu, and some rude figures. In some, there were fish emblems which seem to belong to the Pandyan dynasty. The

* R. A. S. Vol. I. No. 3. Page 149.

figures of Hanuman and Vishnu in these indicate that they were Hindu coins and not Buddhist ones. In all probability these finds speak of a pre-Buddhist culture in ancient Ceylon.

Kudiramalai

There is a tradition in Kalpitiya and in its neighbourhood that in very early times Kudiramalai was the residence of a famous queen Alliarasani by name. Sir Alexander Johnstone* mentions in one of his observations that he was in possession of the history of a queen, who ruled over the north-western districts of Ceylon eighteen hundred years ago. It is an axiom that all tradition is based on fact; the details may be wrong, but the inner core is correct.

"That an ancient town", says R. L. Brohier, "existed in the environs of this headland called Kudiramalai is a fact which both traditional and historical speculations testify to. It is invested with a measure of renown which was wafted to the ends of the inhabited earth, for it would appear that even in ages beyond count intrepid adventurers were lured to it by the precious pearls which the adjacent shallow sea produced.†

Pliny, the Roman, records that in the reign of Claudius (A. C. 41-59) Plocamus while sailing around Arabia was driven by winds, and

* R. A. S. Vol. I. Page 545.

† R. A. S. Vol. XXXI. No. 82, Page 392.

carried to a place called Hippuros * in north-west Ceylon, a point which is still known by the Tamil name Kudiramalai. † Here the Roman sailors were received by the people and taken before their king who treated them hospitably. The king desired to make an alliance with the Roman Emperor, and sent an embassy under one man named Rachia to the court of Claudius. ‡

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AN ANCIENT TAMIL PORT

Mantai or Matota was known as Mahatittha in the Mahavamsa. "I think", says Sir Ponnampalam Ramanathan, "that Mahatittha is the Pali form of the Sanskrit Mahatirtha literally 'the great water or river.' It is usual for great places or Stalas' to have a 'tirtha' or 'sheet of water' where devotees may perform their ablutions and purify themselves. In the case of Tirukketiswaram its 'thirtha' was the Palavi or the adjoining sea, and as the temple itself was in ruins, the spot at which the princess of Madura (Vijaya's

* Horse.

† Horse rock.

‡ This embassy is similar to the one sent by the king of Kotte Bhuvaneka Bahu VII to the court of Lisbon. In the latter the officer in charge was one Sellappu Arachchi, who took the golden image of Don Juan Dharmapala the grandson of the king, to be crowned by the king of Lisbon. The Rachia in all probability was an Arachiar—a Tamil officer.

queen) landed could not be better identified than by the name of 'Mahatirtha'*

To the Saivites the Saiva shrine of Tirukketiswaram is of particular interest, for it is one of the shrines in Ceylon sanctified in the hymns of the Nyanmars. The temple rivalled that of Rameswaram, and was probably built about the same period. The Vaipava Malai makes a positive statement that Vijaya before assuming the kingship of the land built the Koneswaram temple at Konamalai (Trincomalee) in the East, Tiruthambaleswaram at Keerimalai in the North, Santhirasegarar at Dondra Head† in the South, and rebuilt Tirukketiswaram at Mantai in the West, which had long been in ruins. These facts lead one to believe that the founding of the temple must have been many centuries before the coming of Vijaya.

Excavations

Valentyn says that in the year 1574, when some houses were being built at Mantai, there were found the ruins of a Roman building and an iron chain of a wonderful pattern, besides copper and gold coins of the period of Emperor Claudius.

Sir Alexander Johnstone states that in Mantai a great number of Roman coins of different emperors like Antonius and some specimens of good pottery, gold chains, and silver chains were discovered.

* R. A. S. Vol. X, No. 35, Page 117.

† It is interesting to note that this part of the Island is named as 'Sacred to the Moon', in Ptolemy's map. Santhirasegarar means he who wears the moon on his crown—Siva.

In 1887, Mr. W. A. S. Boake read a paper on the excavations of Mantai to the Royal Asiatic Society. He says: "Of the great antiquity of this abode of wisdom and beauty there can be no doubt. From its close proximity to the continent and the facility of communication by water in both monsoons with Rameswaram, which at that time was part of the continent of India the colonization of this part of Ceylon must have taken place at a very early date. The Sinhalese refer to it at a very early date as Mahatittha. Tirukketiswaram was, I think, its most ancient name, for it can scarcely be doubted but that Ceylon was first colonized from Southern India and there was built the great temple dedicated to Siva, as the name implies."*

The archaeological report of 1951 states that an ancient road almost forty feet wide from the eastern gate of the temple has been located. The walls and double moats of the ancient city of Mantai has also been located. Pottery from Rome, Arabia and China have also been found. An ivory miniature chariot drawn by four horses is one of the best finds.

In this site a damaged 'lingam' was found forty five years ago and it is the biggest of its kind in Ceylon. All these finds reveal the glorious civilization and the sublime culture of this great city of antiquity.

An Emporium of Commerce

For more than a thousand years it was a flourishing port and it ceased to be an emporium

* R. A. S. Vol. X. No. 35, Page 108.

by the eighth or ninth century owing to the appearance of dangerous sand-dunes along the coasts. Mamulanar one of the Sangam poets says: "Like unto the treasure left behind in his country (in exchange) for heaps of pepper by the fair ships of foreigners which braving dangers have brought over the bending billows images of gold, diamond and amber to the harbour of the good city of Mantai."*

Taprobane

Tambapanni is the name for Ceylon in Asokan inscriptions of the third century B. C. This was the name by which Ceylon was known throughout India before Asoka. Megasthenes the Grecian of the court of Chandragupta in the fourth century B. C. mentions Ceylon as Taprobane. Onesicrates who lived about 400 years before Ptolemy was the earliest Grecian writer to call Ceylon as Taprobane It is improbable that the Pali name Tambapani (red hand) the name supposed to have been given by Vijaya and his followers could have spread so widely to the then world as to be metioned by early Greek writers.

Kautilya the author of the 'Arthasastra' mentions of two varieties of pearls obtained in the

* நன்னகர் மாந்தை முற்றத் தொன்னர்
பலிதரு வெள்ளாற்று பருசோர் நன்கலம்
பொன்செய் பாவை வயிர மொடாம்ப
லொண்ணுவால் நிறையக் குவை இயன்றவ
ணிலத்தினத்துறந்த நிதியத்தன்ன.

Akam, V: 127, by Mamulanar.

Gulf of Mannar one called 'Pandya Kavadaka' and the other 'Tamravarnika'. The former must have been pearls taken from the shores of Kavadapuram the then important port of the Pandyan kingdom and the latter must have been taken from the shores of Ceylon. These facts confirm that the ancient name of Ceylon was Tamraparni.

The Mahavamsa says; "The prince Vijaya the valiant, landed in Lanka in the region called Tambapanni on the day that the Tathagata lay down between the two twinlike sala trees to pass into nibbana."* Further the Mahavamsa says: "When he had spent some days at the spot he went to Tambapanni. There Vijaya founded the city of Tambapanni."† All these clearly show that Tambapanni was the name of a division in the Island when Vijaya landed.

As the Greeks had an early trade intercourse with the north-western part of Ceylon they must have got the name Taprobane from the Tamil inhabitants who colonized it. It is more probable therefore that the Tamils who migrated from the valley of the Tamraparni river of the Tinnevelly district must have called their new country Tamraparni just as the Pilgrim Fathers when they first colonized America gave the names of their home country to their new towns and villages. When a division of the country was called Tamraparni the whole country was named

* Mahavamsa (Geiger) ch. VI.—47.

† Mahavamsa (Geiger) ch. VII.—38-39.

after it, just as the land watered by the Indus gave the name India for the whole peninsula.



KANTERODAI

The excavations ‡ that were carried out by Sir Paul E. Pieris in 1918 and 1919 at Kanterodai and the discoveries he made of Buddhist remains in the Jaffna peninsula is very interesting and instructive. He secured about thirty five punch-marked coins from Kanterodai and two from Vallipuram. All these pieces are stamped with several punches on one or both faces, hence they have received the descriptive name of punch-marked coins. In the Hindu books a punch-marked coin is called a 'purana' (old). These 'puranas' are mentioned by Manu and Panini They were current in India in the time of Lord Buddha. Most of the 'puranas' that were found at Kanterodai were of silver. Some coins were of copper and bear traces of having once been heavily coated with silver.

Eighteen copper coins of another type were discovered by Sir Paul and they show no traces of design. In shape they are square or oblong with a distinct concavity on one surface. In his opinion they seem to be older than the 'puranas'.

The general character of the coins collected at Kanterodai was Dravidian. Some Buddhist

‡ R. A. S. Vol. XXVIII. No. 72. P. 47.

coins were also found. Most probably they speak of the period when most of the people of South India and the Jaffna peninsula were Buddhists. The discoveries of these punch-marked coins in the peninsula definitely indicate that this part of the Island was first settled at a very early date and its civilization and culture was Dravidian.

In addition to these finds, Sir Paul also found a series of copper rods. Most of these were collected at Kanterodai. They are called 'Kohl' sticks and were used by the Egyptians 2000 B. C. for applying paint with.* Similar copper rods were discovered at Taxila which was a flourishing city in the days of Alexander the Great. From these it is evident that the Jaffna District is a gold mine for archaelogical research as well as for antiquities.

KONESWARAM TEMPLE

According to the Vaipava Malai Prince Vijaya founded Koneswaram. But the inscription that was found in the temple before it was destroyed by Constantino de Sa de Menezes in 1624 gives a different story of its founding. The following account is found in Codex 51-VIII-40 in the Ajuda Library of Lisbon. "This event †

* R. A S. XXVIII. No. 72. Page 61. The opinion of Professor Flinders Petric. Cambridge University.

† R. A S Vol XXX. No. 80. P. 449.

of the destruction of this pagoda was found engraved on a stone and being authenticated by the Ouviador§ of Ceylon after it had been translated by those most learned in ancient letters of the Chingalas it was sent to His Majesty (King of Portugal) and it said as follows: "Manica Raja Bau* Emperor of this Lancaue erected this pagoda to the God Vidia-Mal-Manda† in the year.....(according to the reckoning it comes to be 1300 years before the coming of Christ.) There will come a nation called the Franks who will destroy it and there will be no king in this Island to rebuild it once more."

The Portuguese themselves were greatly impressed by this prophecy. The stanza of tradition is different from the defaced stanza that is now found at the entrance to Fort Frederick. The former stanza is also different from the Portuguese translation of the original

§ Magistrate

* Father Queiroz the Portuguese historian says that Manu Rajah was the founder. There may be a mistake in the translation into Portuguese.

† There is no Hindu deity by that name. Probably there is an error in translation into Portuguese. 'Vidia-Mal-Manda' according to Mr V. Cumaraswamy, editor of 'Kathiramalai Pallu' seems to stand for 'வித்தியும் மேற்றளியும் மண்டபமும்', Premises, edifices and halls the builder dedicated unto the Lord.

but all the three sources agree on the phophecy that the Franguis § would destroy the temple.

The Stanza of Tradition:-

முன்னே குளக்கோட்டன் மூட்டு திருப்பணியை
பின்னே பறங்கி பிடிக்குமே—மன்னுகேள்
பூனைக்கண் செங்கண் புகைக்கண்ணன் போனபின்
மானே வடுகாய் விடும்.

The Portuguese shall take the holy edifice built by Kulakoddan in ancient times. O king hearken! After the cats's-eyed one, the red-eyed one and the smoke-eyed one have gone She (Lanka) will be that of the Northerner. (i. e. Telugu).

It is not known whether this temple was one of those temples destroyed by Mahasena (A. C. 277-304) in the Eastern coasts. When this king was forced to desist from persecuting the orthodox followers of the Maha-vihara he directed his destructive energies towards Saivism. "The king (Mahasena)", says the Mahavamsa, "built also the Manihira-Vihara and founded three viharas destroying temples of the Brahmanical gods: the Gokanna Vihara and another vihara Erakavilla and a third in the village of the Brahman Kalanda."

When for the second time after the fall of Elala six Tamils from the Pandya country won the throne of Anuradhapura in 433 A. C. and ruled successfully for twenty eight years, a Chola prince seized this grand opportunity in the Saka era 358 (A. C. 436) according to the 'Konesar Kalveddu,' of restoring the temple. He

§ French. As the French were well known in Syria, the people of the East called all Europeans with some corruption of Franguis. Here it means the Portuguese.

built the Kantalai tank and made endowments for the maintenance of the temple. This illustrious prince was later known as Kulakoddan (Kulam-tank+Koddam-temple).

The following princes have also given endowments to the temple. Manu Raja, Gajabahu I (A. C.174-196), Bhuvaneka Gajabahu, Manuneya Gajabahu, Segarajasegaram V or Jeyaveera Sinha Aryan of Jaffna (1380-1414), Singai Pararajasegaram V (1414-1440), Rajasinha I (1554-1593) and other kings of Ceylon. The third and the fourth princes in the above list are not found in the Ceylon chronicles. Probably they must be sub-ordinate princes of Gajabahu's family.

The following is the defaced text that is now at the entrance to the fort.

1. ன னே குள
2. காட ன மூட்டு
3. ருப்பணியை
4. னனே பறங்கி
5. கவே மன்ன
6. ன பொண்ணு
7. ன யி யற
8. த வைத
9. ணு
10. கள

Mudaliyar C. Rajanayagam in consultation with a Tamil Pundit completed the verse in the light of the Portuguese original. The following was submitted by the Mudaliyar to Mr. H. W. Codrington.

(1) முன்னேருனக் (2) கோடன்மூட்டுந் (3) திருப்பணியைப்
(4) பின்னே பறங்கிபி (5) ரிக்கவே—மன்னவ (6) பின்
பொண்ணுத (7) தனையிற்ற வழி (8) த்தேவைத்து
(9) எண்ணுர் வருவே (10) ந்தர்கள்.

Translation: O King! the Portuguese will break the holy edifice built by Kulakoddan in



Inscription at the entrance to the fort at Trincomalee. The Pandyan emblem 'the two fishes' left by Jatavarman Sundara Pandya 1251 - 1268. Below is the defaced text of the Tamil inscription.

ancient times and it will not be rebuilt nor will future kings think of doing so.

Dakkshana Kailaya Manmiam

The 'Dakkshana Kailaya Manmiam' which is a section of the great Sanskrit 'Skanda Puranam'* of the fifth century gives a general survey of Saivism in ancient Ceylon. It says that in very ancient times three sacred places were dedicated to the worship of Siva, one is Mt. Kailas, second is Sithamparam and third is Konamalai.† The book further states that of the nine sacred places for the Hindus seven are in the mainland and the other two are in Lanka namely Koneswaram and Thirukketiswaram.

The Manmiam further says that the great Tamil sage Agastyar performed penance at Vetharaniam‡ in South India and continued it

* According to Mr. V. Kumaraswamy, 'Kathiramalai Pallu
,, ,, Mr. M. Veluppillai, 'Ela Sathagam'.

† This is supported by the great mystic writer Tirumular who lived before the eighth century. In Stanza 2754 of 'Tirumantiram' :

இடை பிங்கலையிம வாலே டிலங்கை
நடுநின்ற மேரு நடுவாஞ் சுழுனை
கடவுற் நிலவனங் கைகண்ட ரூபம்
படர்வொன்றி யென்னும் பரமாம் பரமே.

‡ A historical town in the Coromandel coast. It has an an ancient Sivan temple.

at Konamalai. It is interesting to note that on the banks of the Mahaveli Ganga in the Kotiyar District there is a site called 'Agastiyar Isthapanam' covered with bricks and stones. Tirukketiswaram is the only other shrine in Ceylon which has Agastya traditions

"It is clear", observes a student of Agastya legends, "that the stories of Agastya were based on historical memories." These stories are the outcome of the large movement of the aryanization of South India and Ceylon. "The aryanization of the South" says, Mr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, "was doubtless a slow process spread over several centuries. Beginning probably about 1000 B. C. it had reached its completion before

The Manmiam mentions briefly the legendary history of the two great temples Koneswaram and Tirukketiswaram. It speaks of Koneswaram as Dakkshana (south) Kailayam and Mt. Kailas as Uttara (north) Kailayam. One is in the mountains and one is in the sea. The Manmiam further says that Mahaveli Ganga, Menik Ganga, and Kelani Ganga are sacred rivers. Kelani river is sacred because it takes its source in Sivanolipadam.

The Manmiam further records that the country had good rulers who looked to the welfare of the people. The king collected as taxes only one tenth of the produce of the peasants and not one sixth as in other countries. Lanka was the most celebrated of the fifty six provinces of India (including Ceylon). The people did not do things in violation of the Vedas. They did not sell young women nor did they sell cows. The people never rebelled against their rulers. Marriages were solemnized according to Vedic rites with the blessings of the parents

the time of Katyayana the grammarian of the fourth century B. C." The aryanization of Ceylon must have taken place before the coming of Vijaya. The founding of the temple of Koneswaram 1300 B. C. as stated in the Portuguese records may be correct. Probably Vijaya might have rebuilt it in the fifth century B. C. and Kulakoddan in the fifth century A. C.

MURUKAN CULT

Murukan or Skanda appears to have been the God of the primitive Tamils. They regard him as the Guardian of their race, language and literature. He is the deity of the 'kurunchi' (hill) regions. Ancient temples dedicatad to Lord Murukan are mostly on the hills as Palani, Swamimalai, Tiruthany, and Tirupparankuntram. Tirumurukattupaddai a Sangam work extolls the greatness of Murukan.

In Ceylon, Kataragama is a sacred abode of Murukan. He is also known as Karttikeya and Subramaniya. In ancient times this place was known as Kajaragama by the Sinhalese. The Tamils call it Katirkamam—a city of divine glory and love. The earliest name of the holy shrine which was on the top of a hill must have been the Tamil name Kadiramalai. The Skanda Purana is a Sanskrit epic of the fifth century. Its Tamil version is also a grand epic of the seventeenth century. Today Lord Skanda is worshipped by millions from the Himalayas to Dondra Head. He is the patron deity of the people of Ruhuna.

No one knows when the temple was founded. According to the Rajavaliya, Kanda Kumara of Kataragama and other gods saved the life of king Vijaya when Kuveni made secret attempts to kill him. There is a tradition that king Dutugemunu underwent severe penances and implored Skanda's intervention to liberate the country from the Tamils. Then when the Tamils under Elala were defeated in 101 B. C. the king went to Kataragama and conducted a thanks-giving ceremony. He also made several endowments to the temple. This has been confirmed by a Sinhalese poem, 'Kanda Upata'—'Birth of Kanda'. Sir Ponnampalam Arunachalam has said that King Dutugemunu handed the management of the temple to the Veddas and from that time they have continued to retain it except for a short time after 1818*. The present 'Kapuralas' of the temple claim descent from the Veddas. Several endowments were added to the previous ones by later kings. The present main shrine seems to have been built by Rajasinha I (1581—1593)§. Such was the devotion of Sinhalese princes to the God of Kataragama in ancient and medieval times.

In spite of social and political forces in the past twenty two centuries the worship of Murukan has suffered no decline in any part of the Island. There are many other places in South Ceylon besides Kataragama associated with

* R. A. S. Vol. XXI No. 61. P. 81.

§ 'Kathiramalai Pallu' edited by V. Cumaraswamy Stanzas 71 and 72. Sothira Sirapu P. 39.

Skanda or Velan. South Kalutara is known as Velapura—the city of the lancer and North Kalutara is known as Desestra Kalutara—enemies of the Gods. This only shows that the people who were living south of the Kalu Ganga were great devotees of Lord Kataragama. To-day temples dedicated to Skanda are found in all parts of the Island. Tirukkovil a coastal town south of Batticaloa lies in the ancient province of Ruhuna. The old name for Tirukkovil is Kandapanandurai (Kandan's arrow port). Here there is an ancient temple for Skanda.

The antiquity of Murukan cult in Ceylon only indicates that from time immemorial there must have been a branch of the Tamil race or people of Tamil descent in Ceylon. Bertolacci and Sir Emerson Tennet are also of the opinion that the ancient Tamils knew Ceylon and colonized Ceylon long before the coming of Vijaya.

SUN-SIVA WORSHIP

Likewise the sacredness of Adam's Peak, known as Samanakuta in the Mahavamsa and and Sivanolipadam by the Tamils speak of a Dravidian culture in pre-Buddhist Ceylon.

The ancient Dravidians worshipped the sun as the representative of the Almighty Siva. Siva in Tamil means the red one. Because he is a red God the name 'Rudra' the red one is a Sanskrit translation of the same name.

Mountain tops were found to be the most congenial spots for the sun-Siva worship. To see the glory of sunrise or sunset from the top of a mountain is to perceive Truth through beauty. 'Culture,' said Carlyle, "is obtained in solitude and character in the stream of the world." Hence certain mountain tops became associated with the worship of Siva, e. g. Mt. Kailas, Kalastri, Tiruvannamalai. Annually for the Karttika Festival at Tiruvannamalai in the month of November-December, a great beacon is lit on the top of the hill to remind the devotees of a legend in which Siva appeared as a pillar of flame to Brahma and Vishnu. This instance is only to show that the Dravidians from remote antiquity associated their worship of the Supreme with the tops of mountains.

Buddhists from Tibet and other countries go on pilgrimage to Mt. Kailas as the Hindus. In like manner Sivanolipadam must have been a sacred place to the Hindus long before Lord Buddha left his sacred footprint.

Ptolemy in his map of Ceylon made in the second century A. C. marks a place to the south of the Central Highlands as 'Oulispada'. Perhaps he is referring to Sivanolipadam. 'Samanoli' says Manimekalai* Thus the word 'Oulis' or 'Oli' (light) before the word 'pada' has always been associated from time immemorial.



* இலங்காதீவத்துச் சமனெழி யென்னுஞ் சிலம்பினை யெய்தி—

The preachers of Dharma who were returning after worshipping the peak of Samanoli in Lankadipa

ANCIENT CULT

The presence of Brahmans in large numbers in Ceylon from very early times makes us to confirm that Hindus have been living in this Island from very ancient times. Pandukabhaya was left in charge of a Brahman named Pandula for his early education. Brahman Tivakka was the second after the king to receive the Bo-tree when it was first landed on the northern coasts. When Devanampiya Tissa marked the boundaries of Anuradhapura he had to pass a shrine belonging to a Brahman named Diyavasa.† The earliest inscriptions at Sasseruva in the Kurunegala District and at Yangala in the Nuvarakalaviya District mention caves belonging to Brahmans.† The existence of Sotthisala, a building set apart for the recital of mantras by Brahmans is mentioned in Pandukabhaya's reign. If Brahmans were living in the early period of Anuradhapura it is probable that they must have been living in pre-Vijayan period too.

Ramayana

The Ramayana though not a book of history in the modern sense has an inner core of historical facts. This great epic that was written by Valmiki long before the beginning of the Christian era pictures Ravana, the king of Ceylon, as a great devotee of Siva and his people as belonging to the Hindu faith. Valmiki

† R. A. S. Vol. XXXI No. 82 P. 322, 323.

identifies the date of Rama's birth with an uncommon astronomical fact. From this Mr. Bently, an authority on Hindu astronomy, computes the date of the birth of Rama to be 961 B. C.* Vibhisana, the brother of Ravana is still worshipped at Kelaniya. Lakshmana the brother of Rama is worshipped in Sabaragamuwa. These traditional cults lend support to the historical facts contained in the Ramayana. Further there are place-names like Ravana-alla Ravana-guhava (Ravana's cave) and Sita-Eliya. †

Tirumantiram

Tirumular a great Saiva sage and philosopher whose period is not exactly known composed a voluminous mystical work known as 'Tirumantiram'. He is mentioned by St. Sundarar of the eighth century in his 'Tiruttondattokai'. That fixes the lower limit. He belongs to the early Siddha School. In Tirumantiram in verse 2747 he mentions Ceylon as 'Sivabhumi'‡—a land hallowed by the temples dedicated to Siva.

Thevaram

St. Sambandar wrote 16,000 'pathigams' (each 'pathigam' is composed of ten stanzas) of which only 383 are now extant. In each of the

* R A. S. Journal Vol. X No. 35. P. 115.

† The Ceylon Historical Journal April 1952. P. 354.

‡ மேரு நடு நாடி மிக் கிடை பிங்கலே
கூரு மிவ் வானின் இலங்கைக் குறியுறுஞ்
சாருந் திலேவனத் தண்மா மலயத்தூ
டேறுஞ் சுழுனே இலை சிவ பூமியே.

'pathigam' in stanza eight he makes reference to Ravana the king of Lanka and in some he praises his love and devotion to Siva.

★

VEDDAS

Those who have made a special study of, the Veddas state that they worship 'Kande Yaka' most probably they adore Kandaswamy who is a hill god and a protector of the aboriginal tribes. The name Valli is a common name among Vedda women. Teyvayanai and Valli are the consorts* of God Kandaswamy whose lance† figures prominently as an object of worship in temples dedicated to him. Another deity worshipped by the Veddas is 'Bilinda Yaka' brother of 'Kande Yaka'. 'Bilinda' in Sinhalese means child. According to Hindu puranas Ganesha is known as Pillaiyar (child). He is known as the brother of Kandaswamy.

The prevalence of a Hindu cult among the aboriginal tribes clearly shows that these people continued their old faith in their secluded jungles throughout the centuries unaffected by Buddhism.

Jones and Simon Casie Chetty are also of the opinion that the Island was inhabited by a Hindu race from times immemorial.

★

* The consorts of Kandaswamy are regarded as his energies of action and desire respectively. In the language of Saiva philosophy these consorts represent 'Kriya Sakti' and 'Ichcha Sakti'.

† Gnana Sakti or energy of wisdom.

NAGAS

The ancient inhabitants of Ceylon were disparagingly called Nagas (snakes) and Yakkas (demons) by Sinhalese and Brahmanical writers. Megasthenes the Greek representative of the court of Chandragupta called the people of Ceylon Palaeogoni. Probably he means palaya+ Nagar (in Tamil)—ancient Nagas. The Mahabharata and the Ramayana mention of Nagas in Ceylon. The Sangam works lend support to the fact that Nagas and Yakkas inhabited Ceylon.

The Nagas lived in Nagadipa now known as the Jaffna Peninsula. There were Naga settlements in Matota and Kudiramalai. The people who lived in these districts were skilled artisans known as Oviyar whose goods went to all parts of the world from the great port of Mantai (Matota). They were a maritime people and were expert navigators. There were some Naga settlements near the mouth of the river Kelani and some Nagas lived in the Hambantota District. There was another settlement in the Kotiyar District near Trincomalee.

Civilization

The Nagas were a civilized people and were so advanced enough as to deserve three visits from Lord Buddha. They were experts in spinning. The dry climate of Uttaradesa (Northern Province) was very suitable for the cultivation of cotton. Paruti Turai (cotton port) now known as Point Pedro still stands to testify the export of

cotton goods from Jaffna in historical times. The cloths woven by Nagas were like 'vapour of milk' or 'the sloughs of serpents'*.

Cultivation by irrigation was known to them. Tradition ascribes the construction of the Giant's Tank to a pre-Vijayan period. The Ceylon chroniclers are silent as to who caused the construction of the Giant's Tank. It was from the Nagas that the Aryas first learnt the art of writing–Deva Nagari.

Lord Buddha in his second visit to the Island tried to settle a dispute between two Naga princes about a gem-set throne. It became an object of veneration to Buddhists not only in Ceylon but even in India and in distant Java. In the Manimekalai there is an account of a visit of a king of Java to Manipallavam (Jaffna) to pay homage to the gem-set throne.

As in the mainland of India the Nagas worshipped the Sivalingam and the serpent. The ancient temple of Tirukketiswaram in Matota and Nagarkovil in the eastern coasts of the Jaffna Peninsula seem to have been founded by them. Some Naga poets like Poothan Thevanar and others from Ceylon were members of the last

* ஆவியன்ன அவிநூற் கலிங்கம்
பாம்பு பயந்தன்ன வடிவின்காம்பின்
கழை படு சொலியின் இழைமணிவாரா
ஒண் பூங் கலிங்கம். Puranaanuru V. 3.

Translation: Cloth of fine thread resembling the vapour of milk patterned like the sloughs of serpents bright as the tender covering of the bamboo and glittering with gems along the warp.

Madura Sangam. This is a clear indication that the Nagas were ancient Tamils.

Ilam

Who are these Nagas? From where did they come? "The first immigrants", says Nilakanta Sastri, "into the island (Ceylon) were probably people from the Malabar coasts who called themselves Nagas and gave the name Nagadipa to the northern section of the Island, the ancestors of the modern Nayars of Malabar—Naya being but the Prakrit form of the word Naga." The language of the Nagas was Elu. Hence the Tamils who lived on the other coast called Ceylon, Elu-land or Ilam. The Vaipava Malai says that the Island bore the Tamil name Ilam when Vijaya and his followers first colonized it. They took their name Sinhalese from the name of the Island. The word Ilam with the prefix 'Sri' has gone to form Si-hala and Sinhala.

YAKKAS

Another indigenous people of the Island were the Yakkas. They were not demons but they practised witchcraft. They are not to be confounded with the Veddas. They mostly inhabited the central parts of the Island and had towns and villages of their own. There was a Yakka city called Sirisavatthu. In all probability Mahiyangana, the present Alutnuwara, and the ancient city of Pulastipura or Polonnaruwa of later times belong to them. Mr. Parker in

his book, 'Ancient Ceylon' says that there was a great highway from Kataragama through Buttala and Alutnuwara to Polonnaruwa.

Civilization

Samana of Samanakuta (Adam's Peak) was a pre-Buddhist deity of the Yakkas. The temple of Munnieswaram seems to have traditions that go back to Ravana. The Yakkas were matrilinear and practised polyandry of the fraternal type. They knew the art of terrace cultivation. They were not wholly uncivilzed. The early kings of Anuradhapura used to accomodate Yakka princes giving them equally eminent seats as kings. Pandukabhaya built a shrine for the Yakkas.

Vijaya is said to have married Kuveni a Yakka princess and she bore him two children. This only indicates that the Yakkas had a certain level of culture and refinement as to provide Vijaya a consort. Later she was put away by Vijaya to enable him to marry a Pandyan princess.

A Chinese geographer who visited India in the seventh century A. C. says that in Ceylon the Yakkas had retired to the south-east corner of the Island.



TRADE AND COMMERCE



Fa Hien who visited Ceylon in the early fifth century says: "Ceylon was the resort of merchants before the advent of Buddha." The existence of the ports Matota and Kudiramalai

before the coming of Vijaya go to show that Ceylon and her people had trade relations with foreign countries. Before the invention of the compass when seamen could not safely venture out to the sea, the ships sailing from Malabar to the Coromandel coasts had no other alternative but to pass Dhanushkodi or through the Straits of Mannar and so the northern ports became important for trade. "There can be no doubt", says Simon Casie Chetty, "that the commercial intercourse of the Greeks and the Romans with Ceylon was confined to the northern and north-western ports." South India and Jaffna had intimate trade relations from the time when men first learnt to sail. The discovery of 'puranas' (old coins) and 'Kohl' sticks at Kanterodai only indicates the intimate trade relationship which the northern parts had with its neighbours.

When Vijaya said to Kuveni: "These men (his followers) are hungry." She showed them rice and other articles of food and goods of every kind that had been in the ships. As rice was a product of South India the ships must have come from the Tamil country. The Tamils who were a great seafaring people of a neighbouring coast, must have had a great control of the trade of Ceylon even before the coming of Vijaya. The products of Ceylon as precious stones, pearls algum trees, ivory and peacock were exported from the northern ports.

Phoenicians

It is recorded in the Bible that a thousand years before the Christian era the fleets of king

Solomon piloted by the adventurous seamen of Phoenicia touched the ports of Ceylon and India in search of materials for the building of the great temple of Jerusalem. It is said that the king's ships came to the country of the Ophir every three years. Ophir seems to be derived from Orphis (Greek) meaning a serpent. Therefore it is probable Ophir designated the country of the Nagas.

Agriculture

In the fourth century B. C., Pandukabhaya as a young prince met the princess Pali on her way to the rice fields when she was carrying food for the reapers and for her father Girikanda Siva. Nan-Naganar was a poet of the Sangam period In one of his poems in 'Puranannuru', he says of Nalliyakodan the Lord of Great Lanka and of his son Villi Atan as follows: "May I obtain the shadow of his feet and may he receive my praises in poetic cadence! Such is Villi Atan the Lord of Lanka of fertile fields of paddy the reapers in which sharpen their blunted sickles on the curved backs of tortoises buried in the mud mistaking them for stones."* In pre-Buddhist Ceylon there were festivals

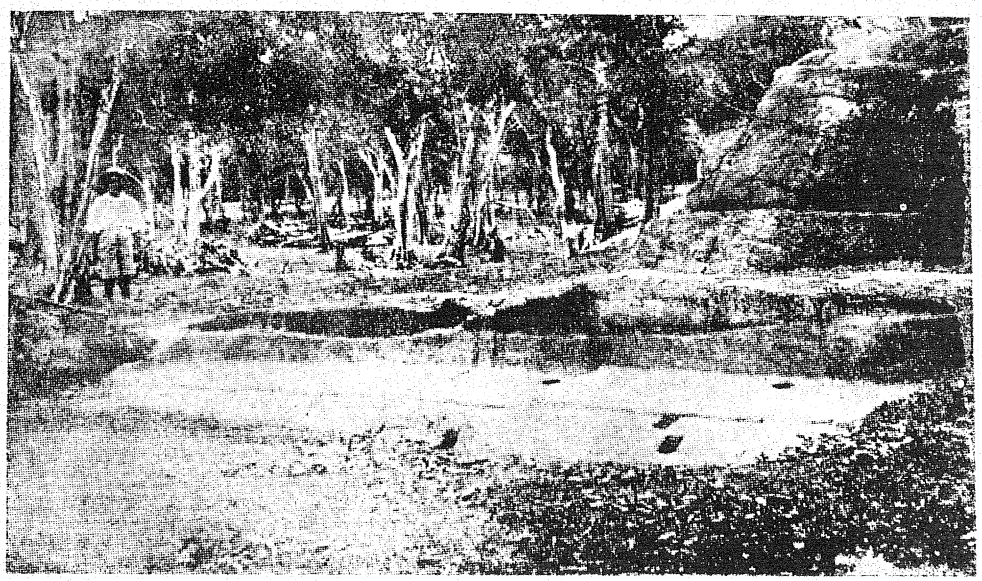
* யானே பெறுகவன் ருணிழல் வாழ்க்கை
யவனே பெறுக வென்னு விசை நுவற
னெல்லி தொழுவர் கூர்வாண் மழுங்கிற்
பின்னே மறத் தோடிரியக்கல் செத்
தள்ளல் யாமைக்கூன் புறத்துரிஞ்சு
நெல்லமல் புறவினிலங்கை இழவோன்
வில்லியாதன் Puranannuru by Nan Naganar.

connected with agriculture, one is Salilakilitam (water-festival) and the other a Migavam (a hunt(in which all the people partook.§ If in the fourth century B. C. there was rice cultivation there is every reason to believe its prevalence in the previous centuries.

We are told that the Nagas were a civilized people and even had a gem-set throne which later became sacred to the Buddhists. Of the Yakkas we are told that they knew the art of spinning and they had cities of their own. Surely such peoples should have known the art of cultivation when only thirty miles off in the other coasts there was a good developed system of agriculture.



§ History of Buddhism in Ceylon by Walpola Rahula P. 30.



This Tamil House-holder's terrace at Anuradhapura is the earliest authenticated Tamil habitation in Ceylon The inscription on the vertical face of the rock behind the terrace is in characters of the oldest type of Brahmi alphabet. "The terrace of the Tamil house-holders caused to be made by the Tamil Samana (residing) in Ilubarata." The following names are also found Kubira, Tisa Kubira Sujata, Saga, Nastata and Karava. The last named is a ship-captain Probable age of the record, is about the third century B. C. and first century A. C.

CHAPTER III.

SOUTH INDIAN AGGRESSIONS

POLITICAL ADVENTURERS

Sena and Guttika 177-155 B. C. (1)

TWO Tamils Sena and Guttika, who were traders in horses, seeing the weak state of the country during the reign of Sura Tissa, brought over a Tamil army and soon drove the king from the throne of Anuradhapura, and ruled justly for twenty two years.

Elala 145-101 B. C. (2)

A few years later Elala, a nobleman of the Chola country, drove away Asela from Anuradhapura and seized the throne. He ruled wisely and well for forty four years. Though a Hindu, he won the affection of his Buddhist subjects by his good government. He earned the title of Elala the Just. He built thirty two forts to make himself secure in his kingdom. All Ceylon north of the great river, he brought under his rule. The chiefs of Maya Rata and Ruhuna Rata were compelled to acknowledge his supremacy and to pay him tribute.

Dutugemunu was now king of Ruhuna. For long he had been anxiously preparing for a war against Elala. In the first stage of the war, the Tamil chiefs in his neighbouring districts were

overcome. Then Dutugemunu tried to cross the Mahaveli Ganga, but the ferry was so strongly guarded, that it took Gemunu four months of fighting to get through to the other side.

When fort after fort fell into his hands, the Tamils retreated, and took up a strong position in the fort of Vijitapura. This fort had three moats filled with water, and had walls with four huge gates. It took four months of fighting, before Gemunu was able to enter the town.

When two more Tamil chiefs were overcome, Gemunu selected a place before the city of Anuradhapura for his encampment. He guarded his camp with thirty two lines of defence. Elala sent his great general Dighajantu to attack his enemy. This brave warrior broke through the thirty two lines of defence, and in the end was killed in an encounter. The Tamils would have fled on seeing their general fall, but Elala kept on encouraging them from behind. The battle continued with great losses on both sides.

In the end the two kings met face to face near the southern gate of the city, and the dual was watched by both the armies. When the great old warrior met his young foe, he was seventy years of age. Elala died as a king, and his dead body was burnt with all due honour on the spot where he fell. Later a tomb was built over his ashes. Dutugemunu made a decree that all those, who pass that reputed spot in procession, should silence all music and walk on foot. This rule was strictly observed even

during the time of the British rule over the Island.

In 1818, a famous Kandyan chief, after an unsuccessful attempt at rebellion against British rule, tried to escape through Anuradhapura. Though he was tired in body and mind he did not want to disobey the edict of a great king. He not knowing the spot got down from his palanquin, and walked on until he was assured that he had definitely passed the memorial. Do the descendants of king Dutugemunu to-day honour his injunction, that whosoever passes the tomb of Elala shall descend from his vehicle and go bare-footed?

There are some historians who assert that Elala was an enemy of Buddhism. This is not true; for we are aware of many stories that go to illustrate his impartiality. King Dutugemunu paid honour to the dauntless Elala remembering not only his prowess in battle, but also his benign services to the people at large. There is a traditional belief among Tamil seamen even to-day that the mention of his name in times of distress would bring them relief. The chorus of songs sung by Tamil seamen ends with the words ileo, elelo, elavali elelo. He was one of the greatest sovereigns of Lanka.

Bhalluka (3)

Seven days after Elala's death, his nephew, Bhalluka landed with a Tamil force of 60,000 men to get back the throne. In the battle that ensued Bhalluka was killed, and Dutugemunu

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ruled as king of all Lanka for the next twenty four years.

Pulahatta, Bahiya, Panayamara, Pilayamara and Dathika 43-29 B. C. (4)

For nearly sixty years after Elala's death the land was free from all invasions. But during the time of Valagamba I, the disturbed political conditions of his time encouraged seven Pandyan chiefs to invade Ceylon. They made their way to Anuradhapura where they attacked and defeated the king. His queen Somadevi was taken prisoner, and Valagamba fled to the South. Two of the Tamil chiefs returned to India and the remaining five Pulahatta, Bahiya, Panyamara, Pilayamara and Dathika ruled at Anuradhapura one after the other from 43 - 29 B. C. The last was slain by Valagamba who thus regained his sovereignty.

Pandu, Parinda, Khuddaparinda, Tiritara, Dathiya, and Pithiya (A. C. 433-460) (5)

On the death of Mahanama there was confusion in the land. Mahanama's son Sotthi Sena whose mother was a Tamil was put to death by his step-sister on the very day of his accession. Her husband later became king and died after a year. He was followed by Mitta Sena, a notorious 'plunderer of crops'. After reigning for one year this king was put to death by a Tamil named Pandu who had come over from the opposite coast. After he held sway over Lanka for a few years, he was followed by five other Tamils Parinda, Khuddaparinda, Tiritara, Dathiya, and Pithiya all of whom ruled in



Man and woman at Isurumuniya seem to have the Gupta style in its execution. It is commonly known as "The Two Lovers." The sacred thread worn on the left shoulder and the circular Tiruvasi behind go to show that the images represent a Hindu God and a goddess most probably Siva and Parvati.

succession. This Tamil rule at Anuradhapura lasted for twenty seven years and in the opinion of some historians it may have lasted longer.

Dhatusena, a prince of Ruhuna, carried on intermittant warfare against the Tamils, and soon succeeded in driving away the last Tamil ruler.

Viradeva (6)

In the reign of Vikrama Bahu (II) I (1116-1137) Viradeva a great warrior from Palandipa landed with a great number of soldiers in Matota to seize the throne of Lanka. The king, when he heard this, moved all his troops to Mannar. Viradeva offered the king battle. The king on being defeated, fled to the South. His enemies closely pursued him. He reached Polonnaruwa his capital, and then fled into the country side. Viradeva set off to capture the king, but the latter sent off his whole army and forced the invader to fight in a swampy district where Viradeva met his end. For the next seventy years Ceylon was free from all foreign invasions.

Lokissara 1210-1211 (7)

In the unsettled period that followed the death of Nissanka Malla in 1196, Lokissara came with a great Tamil army from the opposite shore, and brought the whole of Lanka under one rule. After he had ruled for nine months, Parakrama an old general of Parakrama Bahu I drove away the new ruler, and proclaimed Mahesi Lilavati as queen.

Kalingarayara and Cologangadeva (8)

During the reign of Bhuvaneka Bahu I (1273-1284) there landed from the opposite coast

a Tamil army under Kalingarayara and Cologangadeva to take possession of the kingdom. They were soon repelled, and Bhuvaneka Bahu after ruling for some time from Dambadeniya betook himself to the town of Yapahu.

This was the last of the series of foreign invasions by political adventurers from South India

★

EMPERORS AND PRINCES

Karikala Chola (1)

In the reign of Vankanasika Tissa (A. C. 171-174), Karikala Chola as mentioned earlier invaded Ceylon, and carried away 12000 men to work on his irrigation projects. He was the first of the South Indian emperors to have made an invasion of Ceylon. Gaja Bahu (A. C. 174-196), son of Vankanasika Tissa, seems to have avenged this outrage. He crossed over to India and brought back the Sinhalese who had been taken away, but also an equal number of Tamils as prisoners of war.

Srimara Srivallabha 815-862 (2)

From the eighth century the Pandyas were gaining the supremacy in South India. No one can look at the history of South India without being struck by the extensive power they wielded over Kongu and Kerala. Their growing power was a menace to all other kings, and a confederation was formed against them. Srimara

Srivallabha invaded Ceylon during the reign of Sena I (831-851). He ravaged the northern parts and sacked the capital Anuradhapura. Sena had to flee to the hills. On acknowledging Pandyan suzerainty, Sena was allowed to rule. Srivallabha returned to India with much booty.

The next Sinhalese king was Sena II (851-885), who with the alliance of the Pallavas, tried to avenge the Pandyan attack on Ceylon. At this time Varaguna, son of Srivallabha, had differences with his father and claimed the throne. All these factors helped Sena in his campaign against Srimara. While Srimara was engaged in his campaigns in the North, Madura was invaded. On his return he sustained a double defeat first in his encounter with the Pallavas, and then with Sena's forces. Srimara died of his wounds, and his son Varagunavarman II came to the throne in 862.

Parantaka I 907-955 (3)

When the Pandyas and the Pallavas had become exhausted by continuous wars in the ninth century, the Cholas in the tenth century adopted a policy of expansion. Kassapa V (913-923) sent help to the Pandyas. The combined armies were defeated by the Chola king Parantaka I. Rajasimha, the Pandyan king, fled to Ceylon with his regalia. The people in Ceylon did not like his stay, and he left this country leaving behind his regalia. Ceylon had become an enemy of the Cholas by Kassapa's foreign policy, and the years that followed brought misfortune to Ceylon.

During the time of Udaya IV Parantaka demanded the crown jewels of the Pandyan king, and when they were refused he made an unsuccessful attempt in 944 to regain them Udaya fled to Ruhuna. It was from this time the northern part of Ceylon (Jaffna) came into the hands of the Cholas.

Parantaka II or Sundara Chola 956-973 (4)

Sundara Chola's forces made a second attempt in A. C. 959 to regain the regalia this time from Mahinda IV but was repelled. Mahinda's son Sena V foolishly murdered his general's brother. The general then assembled the Tamils and gave over the country to them. The king fled to Ruhuna. As the Tamils oppressed the people, Sena was compelled to make peace with the general, and soon returned to Polonnaruwa.

Rajaraja I 985-1016 (5)

Mahinda V, king of Ceylon, was a weak and unwise king. His South Indian soldiers mutinied because he failed to pay them their wages. On account of them he had to flee to Ruhuna, leaving Raja Rata in the hands of these soldiers. Rajaraja I, the king of the Cholas, seized this grand opportunity and conquered the country about 1003, and by 1017 the whole of Ceylon came under the Chola rule. Mahinda V and his queen were taken captives. All the jewellery of the king together with the Pandyan regalia were seized. Ceylon became a province of the Chola empire, and Polonnaruwa was renamed Jananathapura. Chola viceroys meant it to be the capital

of their province and embellished it with great buildings of stone and brick. But in the Ruhuna district kings were still independent and sought to oust the Cholas from Raja Rata. Their rule came to an end in 1070.

Results

The Chola occupation of the Island strengthened the South Indian influence over Ceylon Though the Pallavas paid no attention to Ceylon during their great periods of power their influence was felt in Ceylon. Similarly the first Pandyan emperors made invasions of Ceylon but they did not directly administer the country. It was left for the Cholas to rule the Island as a part of their empire.

As Ceylon was under the cultural influence of South India it readily assimilated the Chola civilization. The Cholas established a more exalted conception of kingship. They centralized the administration and made it efficient. They modified taxation and reformed the land tenure system. They introduced a better coinage and it became a model for the future. Their advanced system of architecture and sculpture found expression in the temples and palaces they built in Jananathapura. They made Polonnaruwa their capital and the Kalinga princes who ruled Ceylon after them maintained Polonnaruwa as their capital. The Cholas kept a standing army which custom was continued by the kings that followed them.

Though they never persecuted the Buddhists, Hinduism in Ceylon got a fillip by their rule

Sanskrit learning became popular. A knowledge of that language became a mark of culture. Their period was the close of an epoch and the beginning of a new one.

Virarajendra 1063-1069 (6)

Sometime before 1067, when Vijaya Bahu I was making a great effort to drive away the Cholas, he was defeated and his queen was taken captive to India. He himself took shelter at Vatagiri in the hill district. Later he resumed his efforts to rid the country of the Tamil rulers. Polonnaruwa fell in 1070 and soon Anuradhapura surrendered. Once more the Sinhalese regained their supremacy over the Island.

Parakrama Bahu I and South India

It was a settled principle of the kings of Ceylon to prevent as far as possible the establishment of a hegemonic power on the mainland of South India. This was one basic factor in their foreign policy and they made every effort to stick to the Pandyan alliance under all vicissitudes to counteract the moves of Chola rulers.

During the reign of Parakrama Bahu I (1153-1186) there was a great civil war between two Pandyan princes—Kulasekhara and Parakrama. The former was the rightful claimant. The latter was only a subordinate member of the royal family. The war began with an attack on Parakrama by Kulasekhara. When Parakrama asked the king of Ceylon for help Parakrama Bahu

readily sent an expedition under a very able general, Lankapura. On the mainland Kulasekhara gained his objective and took Madura. He killed Parakrama, his wife and children.

Lankapura proceeded against Kulasekhara. The war was so protracted that Lankapura was forced to get reinforcements from the home country. Meanwhile Kulasekhara appealed to the Chola monarch for help. At the outset everything went on favourably well to the Ceylonese general and Lankapura installed Vira Pandya, son of Parakrama on the throne. Soon however the Chola forces made themselves felt and the Sinhalese army suffered defeat. The heads of the commanders of the Ceylonese army were nailed to the gates of the city by the orders of the Chola monarch. Once more Kulasekhara came to the throne of Madura.

Rajadhiraja II 1173-1182 (7)

In the meantime Pallavaraya, the Chola general, finding that Parakrama Bahu was making preparations to send a fresh expedition to South India, backed the claim of Sri Vallabha a nephew of Parakrama-Bahu I to the throne of Lanka. An expedition under Sri Vallabha was sent to Ceylon by Rajadiraja II.* This army laid waste with fire and sword a great part of the north-western country and carried away many inhabitants as captives.

Now Parakrama Bahu gave up the use of force to attain his objects and resorted to diplomacy instead. He wanted to win Kulasekhara

* History of South India by Nilakanta Sastri.

as an ally by recognizing him as the rightful king of the Pandyan kingdom. Kulasekhara's treachery was soon discovered and Pallavaraya hastened to set up Vira Pandya on the throne of Madura. In like manner plans and counter plans in South Indian politics continued even into the reign of Kulottunga III who succeeded Rajadhiraja II in 1178.

From 1187-1196 Nissanka Malla was occupying the Sinhalese throne, he too claims to have taken two expeditions to South India. Nissanka Malla's boasts have not been taken seriously by students of Ceylon history. After his death till the conquest of the Island by Kalinga Magha in 1215 there was chronic warfare between the Sinhalese and the Cholas.

Kulottunga III 1178-1218 (8)

Kulottunga III claims in his inscriptions to have gained victories over the Sinhalese. An inscription of his twenty first year says that he "placed his feet on the crown of the king of Ilam." It may be an exaggerated account of the defeat of the king of Ceylon but a record of his twelfth year i. e. 1190 also mentions of the victories of Kulottunga. These statements are further being supported by a Sinhalese poem 'Sasadavata' which was composed during the time of Lilavati (1197-1200) (1209-1210)* It states that Ceylon was thrice invaded by the Cholas sometime before the accession of Lilavati.

* R. A. S. Vol. XXXI No. 82 Page 384.

Parakrama Pandu 1211-1214 (9)

In this turbulent period Lilavati (the Queen of Parakrama Bahu the Great) came to the throne thrice. Taking advantage of the situation Parakrama Pandu overran the country with a Pandyan army and seized the throne of Lanka. The Culavamsa says: "After he had cleared Lanka from the briers (of revolt) he ruled the realm in superb Pulatthinagara (Polonnaruwa) for three years without transgressing the political precepts of Manu."

Kalinga Magha 1215-1236 (10)

In 1215, twenty nine years after the death of Parakrama Bahu the Great, Kalinga Magha known as Kalinga Vijaya Bahu, descended on Polonnaruwa with an army of 24,000 Malabars and seized the throne. He is the first of the Kalinga dynasty to assume the title of Chakravarti. (According to Mudaliyar Rasanayagam he is a Jaffna king referred to in the Vaipava Malai as Kulankai Chakravarti*) His rule was very unpopular because he persecuted the Buddhist faith. He built forts in different parts of the country. Polonnaruwa, Pulaccery, Kotasara (Cottiar) Gantala (Kantalai), Kandupulu, Kurundu, Padimana (Padivil or Padaviya), Matugona, Debarapatun (Demalapatanam Jaffna) Uratota (Kayts). Gomudu, Mipatota, Mandalai and Mannaram, He took Colon Nuwara (Colombo) His reign lasted twenty one years. His descendants continued their sovereignty over the Jaffna kingdom under the title of Chakravarti.

* Ancient Jaffna, Pages. 328, 329.

Jatavarman Sundara Pandya 1251 - 1268 (11)

Jatavarman Sundara Pandya is one of the most famous warriors and conquerors of South India. Between 1254 - 1256 he invaded Ceylon and exacted as tribute a vast quantity of pearls and elephants from Pandita Parakrama Bahu II, The Pandya king left his emblem 'the two fishes' hewn on a rock at Konamalai (Trincomalee). This can still be seen at the entrance to the fort. The Sinhalese chronicles make no mention of this great invasion.

In the reign of Vijaya Bahu IV (1271 - 73) Chandra Bhanu a Malay prince is said to have collected a great number of Tamils from Chola and Pandya countries and to have made an invasion of the northern part of the Island. His army is said to have been driven off by the forces of the king and those of Vira Bahu.

It is unlikely that a Malay prince who was of a different nationality and religion would have won the support of the Tamils of South India and invaded the country. The Mahavamsa apparently has confounded the invasion of Sundara Pandya with that of Chandra Bhanu.

Ceylon history from the death of Parakrama Bahu II 1271, to the invasion of Jaffna 1450, by Senpahap Perumal (Bhuvaneka Bahu VI) is unfortunately shrouded in obscurity. The Mahavamsa has failed to record many striking events in the history of Ceylon. No reference has been made to the kings of Jaffna in any of its pages. No mention is made of the great effort made by Alagakkonara against the Tamil

armies of Arya Chakravarti of Jaffna. The atrocious murder of king Vijaya Bahu of Kurunegala, by being suddenly pushed over from that singular rock at Kurunegala has not been mentioned in the Mahavamsa. It has omitted the conquest of Jaffna by Senpahap Perumal which event was at that time considered to be of much importance. These wilful omissions are for the simple reason that the previous events which happened earlier have not been duly recorded.

The Rajavaliya gives due prominence to some of these events but has omitted a period of hundred years by confusing Vijaya Bahu of Dambadeniya with Vijaya Bahu of Gampola.

Arya Chakravarti

During the reign of Bhuvaneka Bahu I Arya Chakravarti, Minister of Kulasekhara king of Pandya came with a Tamil army and took Yapahu. He is said to have carried off the Tooth Relic and much booty. How far this account of the Ceylon chronicles is correct will be taken up later.

The great battles that were fought between the Sinhalese and the Tamils were no racial conflicts but were encounters fought by Tamil soldiers on both sides. The participants in these struggles only fought for domination and power.

CHAPTER IV

CIVIL WARS AND THE TAMILS

THE history of Ceylon from the fifth century to the tenth is marked by revolution civil wars and usurpation. Kings are murdered by their successors and many are slain in the fields of battle. Some kings commit suicide and others end their days in exile. Murders are followed by great acts of piety and great acts of piety are followed by murders and suicides. In the seventh century a large number of exiles who had fled from Ceylon to India owing to civil commotions were met by the famous Chinese traveller Hiouen Thsang. Civil strife became so hideous that agriculture was neglected with the result there was famine and pestilence. It has been the practice for defeated parties in civil wars to hasten to India and collect Tamil troops for the prosecution of their wars in the Island.

Ela Naga A. C. 93-102 (1)

In the first year of Ila Naga's reign some Lambakannas rebelled and made the king a prisoner. He, however, escaped to India and remained there for three years. After gathering an army he landed in a southern port and with his own army he defeated the rebels and severely punished them.

Abhaya Naga A. C. 291 - 299 (2)

When Voharika Tissa (269-291) had reigned twenty two years, his younger brother Abhaya Naga in A. C. 291 seized the throne with the aid of a Tamil army. When the elder brother took flight with his consort, he was slain. Later he made his brother's consort his queen and reigned eight years in the capital.

Mugalan 496 - 513 (3)

Mugalan and Kassapa were two sons of Dhatusena by different mothers. Kassapa's mother was of inferior birth. He treacherously seized his father's kingdom and brutally murdered him. Mugalan the rightful heir escaped to India and tried to raise an army to fight against his usurping brother. He returned with a large Tamil force in the eighteenth year of Kassapa's reign. Twelve nobles also accompanied him to support his claims to the throne. A great battle was fought which ended in the defeat and suicide of Kassapa about A. C. 496

Sri Naga (4)

In the reign of Silameghavanna (617 - 626) a general named Sri Naga maternal uncle of Jettha Tissa III went to India and returned with Tamil troops. He then began to take possession of the Northern Province. In the battle that followed Sri Naga was killed and the Tamils who had been taken prisoners were distributed as slaves to the Viharas.

Agbo III 626 - 641? (5)

King Agbo III also known as Sri Sangabo II was defeated in battle by Jettha Tissa III but soon he fled to India and returned with a Tamil army. A great battle was fought near Kala Weva tank and Jettha Tissa being defeated committed suicide.

Dathopatissa I (6)

King Agbo III was again dethroned in A. C. 640/41 by the former king's general with the help of a Tamil Army. This general ascended the throne as Dathopatissa I. Agbo fled to Ruhuna where he died while trying to collect a force to regain his throne. The yuvaraja Kassapa, brother of king Agbo III, drove away Dathopa Tissa I and united the country under one dominion. Again Dathopatissa came with a Tamil army from India and offered battle to Kassapa. Again Dathopatissa was defeated by Kassapa and was slain. Kassapa, after a rule of nine years died in A. C. 650 leaving the government to his nephew Mana.

Dathopatissa II 650 - 658 (7)

Mana having won over the people tried to expel the Tamils. The Tamils banded themselves together and seized the capital Anuradhapura. The king fled to get the help of his father who was in Ruhuna. In the meantime the Tamils sent a message to Hatthadatha the nephew of Dathopatissa who was then collecting an army in India to come and take over the government. Mana quickly made a sham treaty

with the Tamils and then crowned his father, Dappula as king When this news reached Hatthadatha, he hastened to the Island with a Tamil force. Those that were in the capital also joined him. Dappula and his son fled to Ruhuna and to the Eastern Province. Hatthadatha was proclaimed king as Dathopatissa II. In the battle that followed Mana was slain and his father died of grief. The king reigned for nine years and died in A. C. 658.

After Dathopatissa, Agbo IV reigned for sixteen years and died in A. C. 674. The last years of this king was spent in Polonnaruwa for he feared the power and influence of the Tamils in Anuradhapura.

Manavamma 676 - 711 (8)

When Potthakuttha the Tamil general proclaimed Datta as king, Manavamma the son of Kassapa II went to India and secured the assistance of the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I to win the throne of Lanka. When the Pallava army landed on the coasts of Ceylon, Potthakuttha who was wielding real power in Anuradhapura fled into the country and committed suicide at his friend's residence.

Anikanga 1209 (9)

In 1209, Anikanga father of an infant king Dharmasoka invaded Ceylon with a Tamil army. He slew his son and the general who really governed the country. After a reign of seventeen days Anikanga was killed by another general.

Magha and Jaya Bahu 1236-1244 (10)

While Kalinga Magha (1215-1236) was ruling at Polonnaruwa, Vijaya Bahu III (1232—1236) was wielding power in the Maya country. After his death his son Parakrama Bahu II (1236—1271) succeeded him. He made Dambadeniya his capital.

Kalinga Maha and his ally Jaya Bahu soon began to find their position insecure. They held all the forts between Polonnaruwa and Uratota. For eight years they bravely defended the capital and were finally defeated by Parakrama Bahu in 1244. Though the king was very powerful he could not gain the overlordship of Jaffna.

Vira Alageswara 1388-1392, 1398-1410 (11)

Vira Alageswara was the nephew of Nissanka Alageswara or Alagakkonara. Vira Bahu II (1392-1397) was a brother of Vira Alageswara and he ruled the sub-kingdom of Rayigama though Bhuvaneka Bahu V continued to be king in name. There was civil war between the two brothers and Alageswara was defeated. He went to India and returned with a large army. Vira Bahu was defeated and killed in action by his brother. Alageswara re-ascended the throne at Rayigama and ruled until he and his family were carried away by the Chinese in 1410. This was the last participation of the South Indian Tamils in the civil wars of Ceylon.

Results

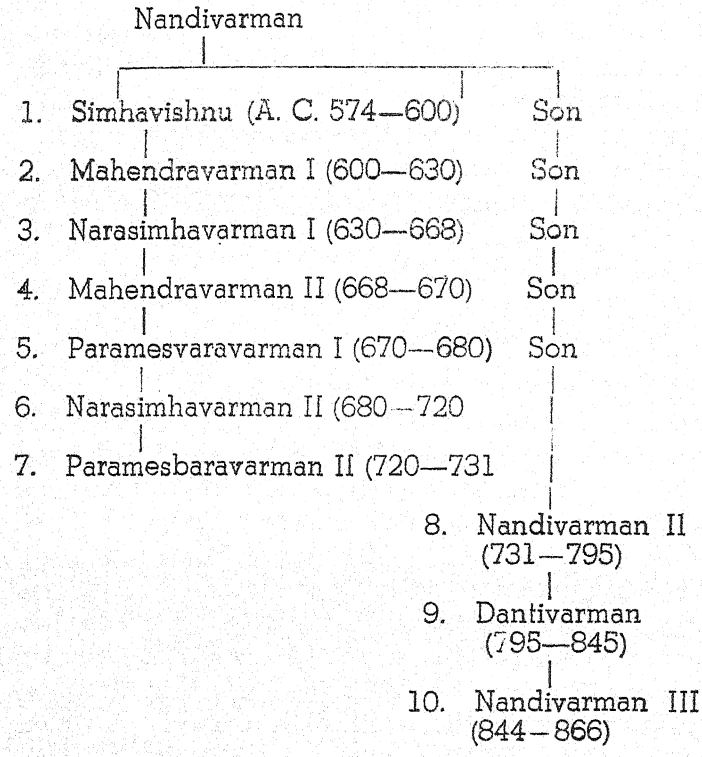
The utilization of South Indian soldiers in the civil wars of Ceylon and the results of the

periodical Tamil aggressions of the ninth and tenth centuries increased the number of Tamils in the Island. Throughout the medieval period Tamil influence was growing in the Island while simultaneously the empires of South India were growing in strength. Whenever there was a Pandyan or a Chola invasion of the Island the Tamils joined their compatriots. Whenever the kings of the Island made preparations to invade the kingdoms of South India the Tamil soldiers revolted. Sometimes these soldiers were a source of strength to the rulers but often they were a source of danger to them. Gradually the Sinhalese kings began to lose their hold over the territories in the North.

The Tamil Kingdom

The expansion of the Tamil kingdom in the north of the Island had gradually pushed the Sinhalese to the south and south-west. All these changes in the history of the Island created new problems. In the Tamil kingdom, Tamil became the chief language and Hinduism its main religion. Instead of the old provinces of Raja Rata, Maya Rata and Ruhuna there came into being a Tamila Rata and a Sinhala Rata. Economically there grew up many differences. The Tamils being in the dry zone followed the cultivation suitable to their area. On the other hand the Sinhalese being in the wet zone began to cultivate crops suitable to their area These historical and geographical factors increased their differences though fundamentally there were no differences.

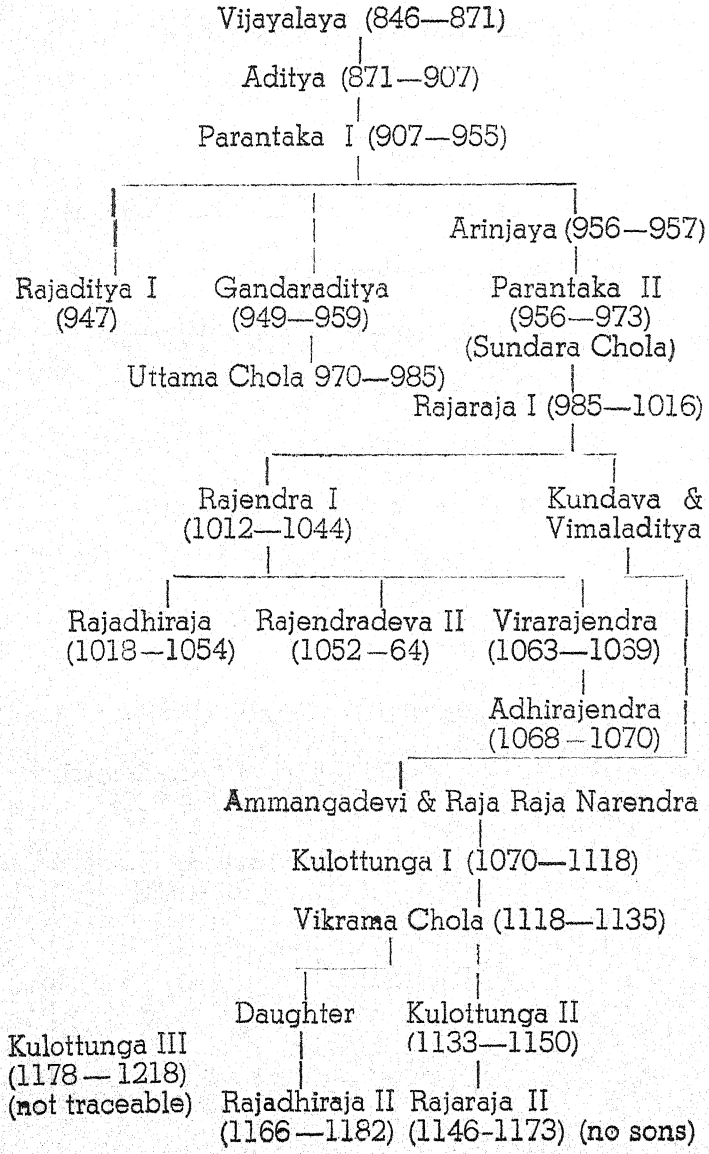
PALLAVAS


Nandivarman
1. Simhavishnu (A. C. 574—600)
Son
2. Mahendravarman I (600—630)
Son
3. Narasimhavarman I (630—668)
Son
4. Mahendravarman II (668—670)
Son
5. Parameśvaravarman I (670—680)
Son
6. Narasimhavarman II (680—720
7. Parameśbaravarman II (720—731
8. Nandivarman II (731—795)
9. Dantivarman (795—845)
10. Nandivarman III (844—866)

PANDYAS (A. C. 590—920)

1. Kadungon (590—620)
2. Maravarman Avanisulamani (620—645)
3. Sendan (645—670)
4. Arikesari Maravarman (670—700)
5. Koccadaiyan (700—730)
6. Maravarman Rajasimha I (730—765)
7. Jatila Parantaka Nedunjadaiyan alias Varaguna I (765—815)
8. Srimara Srivallabha (815—862)
9. Varagunavarman II (862—880)
10. Parantaka Viranarayana (880—900)
11. Maravarman Rajasimha II (900—920)

CHOLAS


Vijayalaya (846—871)
Aditya (871—907)
Parantaka I (907—955)
Arinjaya (956—957)
Rajaditya I (947)
Gandaraditya (949—959)
Parantaka II (956—973) (Sundara Chola)
Uttama Chola 970—985)
Rajaraja I (985—1016)
Rajendra I (1012—1044)
Kundava & Vimaladitya
Rajadhiraja (1018—1054)
Rajendradeva II (1052—64)
Virarajendra (1063—1069)
Adhirajendra (1068—1070)
Ammangadevi & Raja Raja Narendra
Kulottunga I (1070—1118)
Vikrama Chola (1118—1135)
Daughter
Kulottunga II (1133—1150)
Kulottunga III (1178—1218) (not traceable)
Rajadhiraja II (1166—1182)
Rajaraja II (1146-1173) (no sons)

CHAPTER V

THE JAFFNA KINGDOM

NAGA PERIOD

THE Jaffna peninsula in ancient times was composed of two separate islands. One of these was Nagadipa. It consisted of Valigamam East, Valigamam West, Valigamam North, and the Jaffna town area together with the submerged lands of which the neighbouring islands are the remnants. The other island was the remaining eastern portion of the peninsula, and was known as Erumai Mullaitivu* from 'Erumai Mullai' (Prenna Serratifolia) which grew in abundance.

According to Rajavaliya there was a great innundation in the third century B. C., when many of the lands of Lanka were engulfed by the sea. A large slice of the western island might have been submerged then, leaving a portion of Nagadipa. In later times the name Nagadipa became associated with a great portion of the Northern Province.

* Mahiladipaka, (Mahavamsa Geiger Chap. VI, 45) is the island that is associated with the landing of the women who accompanied Vijaya in a separate ship. Mudaliyar Wijesingha read the name of the island as Mahindadipa. If the correct reading is Mahisadipa, then the landing of the women can be located as the eastern portion of the Jaffna peninsula. For Erumai Mullaitivu or shorten form Erumaitivu (erumai=buffalo) can be translated into Mahisadipa in Pali.

Naga Kingdoms

According to the Mahavamsa, Naga strong holds in the sixth century B. C. were at Nagadipa under Mahodara, a Naga king. His nephew, Culodara was the ruler of Kandamadanam near Rameswaram and his uncle, Maniakkhika was the king of Kalayani (Kelaniya). A conflict arose between Mahodara and Culodara about a gem-set throne. There was a great war and peace was brought about by the intervention of Lord Buddha himself. All these events took place during the second visit of Lord Buddha to the Island, when many Nagas embraced the Buddhist faith.

Manimekalai

The above story of the Mahavamsa is corroborated by the Tamil epic, Manimekalai, composed in the second century A. C. Manipallavam is the country where the scenes and the settings are laid by the learned Tamil author. The Nagadipa of the Mahavamsa, in all probability, is the Manipallavam of Manimekalai.

This celebrated epic mentions that a Chola prince, Killi Valavan, made love to Pili Valai,*

* "நாக நாடு நடுக்கின் றுள்பவன்
வாளை வேலோன் வளவனன் றேவி
வாசை மயிலை வயிற்றுட் டோன்றிய
பீலிவளை." *Mani. Canto XXIV.*

"Pili Valai, born of the womb of Vasamyilai, the wife of Valai Vanan of the victorious javelin, who rules over the Naga country without fear."

Valai Vanan might have been a representative of Karikalan, the Chola king. An invasion of Ceylon by Karikalan took place during the time of Vankanasika Tissa.

the beautiful daughter of Valai Vanan, the Naga ruler of Manipallavam (Jaffna?). The loss of Killi Valavan's son by Pili Valai on his way to the Chola country greatly grieved the king, that he neglected to celebrate the annual festival of Indra at his capital, Kaverippumpattinam or Puhar. Manimekalai, the godess of the sea, incensed at this omission uttered a malediction, and accordingly the sea engulfed Kaverippumpattinam. Killi Valavan, therefore removed his capital to Uraiyur.

Yalpanam

It is not clear, when the Tamils came to Jaffna. All evidences, that we have examined in these pages, indicate that the Tamils were in Ceylon long before the coming of Vijaya.* They must have come here when they first learnt to sail. They came here as traders, as adventurers as peaceful colonists, as soldiers, and as conquerors. In early times this peninsula was also known by the names of Naganadu, Manipallavum, Manipuram, Manavur, and Manalur.

* There are three headlands on the northern coasts of Jaffna, namely Kovalam, (in Karaitivu) Jambukovalam, (in Chulipuram) and Kal Kovalam (in Point Pedro). The Jambukovalam in Tamil has become Jambukola in Pali (Mahavamsa Geiger chap. XIX, 23).

Kadiramalai, the ancient name for the capital of the Jaffna kingdom, became Kadiragoda in Sinhalese (malai (Tamil) = goda (Sinhalese)). The name later corrupted to Kandercudde during the time of the Portuguese and to Kanterodai in Dutch times. These indicate that the Tamils were very early settlers of the peninsula.

To-day the peninsula is known as Yalpanam from a ministrel who departing from the Chola country arrived at the court of Jeyatunga Vara Raja Singan of Singai Nagar. He won the favour of the monarch by his wonderful feats on the lute, and obtained from him that portion of Jaffna town now known as Passiyur and Kariyur. As very few people inhabited it, then, the 'Panan' sent to South India for people of his own tribe to come over and settle in his new lands. As some of these settlers knew fishing, they took up to fishing. This new settlement later developed into a port, and it was known as Yalpanapattinam. When the Portuguese came, they built their fort there, and made it the capital of the Tamil territories. They called it Jafanapatao, and the English called it Jaffna.

Sir Paul E. Pieris says: "To the Tamil man Jaffna town is still Pattinam. The Pettah, which is the Portuguese settlement, is Parangi Teru—the Feringhees' Quarter—and is in Vannarponnai. It is doubtful if the site of the fort had any Tamil name of its own, though it would appear from the fact of Roman coins being picked up within the walls after the rains, that it was occupied from the earliest times."*

Rev. Father Gnanapragasar is of the view that the name Yalpanam was first applied in the 15th century to Nallur, a village adjoining the Jaffna town. He says 'Yapane' means in Sinhalese 'good village.' In Tamil, Nallur has the same meaning. In the 15th century 'Kokila Sandesaya',

* The Kingdom of Jafanapatnam—*Page* 35.

a work which commemorates the victory of Sapumal Kumaraya over Jaffna, calls the capital Yapapatuna. This is only a contraction of Yalpanapattinam. Nallur was made the capital of the Jaffna kingdom in the middle of the 15th century. But Muhammadan travellers of the ninth and tenth centuries as Suleyman and Abu Zaid say that the Island of Ceylon had two kings one of whom was ruling over an island called Zapage or Zabage (Jaffna). Hence, the conclusions drawn by the Rev. Father is untenable.

The Jaffna tradition according to the Vaipava Malai is that Vijaya landed at a Northern port and later repaired to Kadiramalai * (Kanterodai). As a thanks-giving for his safe arrival, he built the temple of Tiruthambaleswaram or Nagules-waram at Keerimalai, and then went round to the other coast, as mentioned earlier, building new temples and repairing those that were in ruins.

The Naga kings, who ruled at Kadiramalai, seem to have had peaceful relations with the kings of Anuradhapura. There appears to have been constant communication and intercourse between Jaffna and the Sinhalese capital. After the establishment of Anuradhapura as the capital, several principalities arose in the Island and became at certain times independent of the central power. The kings, who ruled at Matota and at Kadiramalai in Jaffna, were themselves independent. Though no mention is made by

* According to revised opinion the landing of Vijaya was in 483 B. C. instead of 544 B. C.

the Ceylon chronicles of the kingdom of Nagadipa during this period, yet contemporary Tamil literature furnishes us some materials for investigation.

The Advent of Buddhism

The reign of Devanampiya Tissa (247 - 207 B. C.) is important for the introduction of Buddhism in Ceylon. Asoka, the Emperor of India known in Sinhalese writings as Dharmasoka (Asoka the righteous), became a convert to Buddhism. He was a devoted follower of the Buddha, and was anxious to spread the new faith everywhere. The third Buddhist council decided to send preachers of Buddhism to foreign countries, and one country chosen for the purpose was Lanka.

Mahinda, son of Asoka (though many authorities do not accept this relationship), was chosen to take the sacred Gospel to Lanka. He, before coming to Ceylon, founded a Buddhist monastery in the Tanjore District. When he began his preaching in Ceylon, the king Devanampiya Tissa and his followers became converted to Buddhism. Women also embraced the new faith.

The king first built the Maha Vihara which in later days became the great seat of Buddhist learning. The Alms Bowl of the Buddha and a number of other relics were safely deposited in a shrine on the mountain which was therefore called the 'cetiya' mountain. Over the collar-bone of the Buddha was erected in Anuradhapura the Thuparama Dagoba.

Bodhi-tree

Later at the request of Mahinda and the Buddhists of Ceylon, his younger sister, Sangamitta with eleven nuns decided to leave for Ceylon. The sacred Bodhi-tree was brought by her to the Island. It was first landed at Jambukola in the northern coasts of Jaffna, where king Devanampiya Tissa together with the nobles of the land received it with great ceremonies and salutations. On the tenth day, the king placed the Bodhi-tree upon a beautiful decorated car and escorting it led it along the trunk road from Jambukola through Kadiramalai, Punakari*, and the Wanni Districts to the northern gate of Anuradhapura. On the way the king caused the Bodhi-tree to be set down at the entrance to the village of the Brahman Tivakka and in other consecrated spots. At Anuradhapura the tree was planted in the Mahamegha garden, where it still exists, the oldest authenticated tree in the world.

* There were four roads connecting the capital with four famous seaports situated along the coast - namely, Mahatittha (Matota), Jambukola in the north, Gonagamapattana (on the eastern coast), and Mahakandara river (probably in the north). History of Buddhism in Ceylon— Walpola Rahula. P. 20.

Mudaliyar Rasanayagam is of opinion that the road from Jambukola passed through Kadiramalai and Punakari on the mainland. The last mentioned place, Punakari, being the first station on the mainland, must have been decorated on all festive occasions and hence, the name (city of flowers=Pu Nagar.)

Devanampiya Tissa erected a Vihara at Jamukola, a place consecrated by the landing of the Bodhi-tree. One of the eight Bodhi-saplings was also planted at this centre. When Tissa died after a long and eventful reign of forty years, he left his kingdom converted to the religion of Buddha. How far this new religion spread over the Tamil areas, is a matter that cannot be appraised. Both Hinduism and Buddhism flourished in all parts of the Island side by side, until the reign of Mahasena. After him Hinduism received a set-back, but its influence on Buddhism never abated.

Sea Pirates

In the early Christian era many of the Nagas had become sea pirates with their headquarters at Mantai (Matota). They were so annoying to sailing vessels in the northern coasts, that the Chera monarch Senguttuvan led an expedition against them and punished them.

At this time there was a Tamil tribe called Kadambas * who also became sea pirates. They had their headquarters at the mouth of the Aripo river, and carried on a more extensive piracy than the Nagas. Their power was also destroyed by the Chera king Senguttuvan.

* துடியன் பாணன் பறையன் கடம்பனென்
றின் நான்கல்லது குடியுமில்லை —Puram 335.

Tudiyan, Panan, Parayan, and Kadamban
Except these four there are no other Tamil tribes.

Naga Marriages

From the time of Kakavanna Tissa † who married a Naga princess Vihara Devi of Kalyani, Naga connections with Ceylon kings became stronger and stronger. The royal families of Anuradhapura began to have marriage alliances with the royal families of Jaffna. Another change was also taking place in Jaffna. The Tamils were also intermarrying with the Naga royal families, and their progeny were termed as Lambakannas (those with big ear lobes) by the Sinhalese. These Lambakannas had grown so powerful in the courts of the kings of Anuradhapura, that they seized power in the reign of Ila Naga (A. C. 93—94) (97—102) and drove away the king.

Early Sources 483 B. C.—A. C. 127

From the death of Devanampiya Tissa 207 B. C. to the beginning of the reign of Vasabha A. C. 127, no mention is made of Nagadipa by the unfriendly author of the Mahavamsa. This reticence might have been due to the independent position enjoyed by the northern kingdom. An extract taken from one of the writings of Simon Casie Chetty seems to give us the clue: "In a Sinhalese tract, which treats of the transportation of the Bo-branch to Ceylon, it is stated that the king Devanampiya Tissa bestowed Trincomalee and Jaffna on Prince Rama one of the ambassadors who escorted the Bo-branch from the continent, but no allusion is being made

† Father of Dutugemunu.

to it in the Mahavamsa, the correctness of the statement may be questioned."* There appears to be some truth in the above statement. For the Mahavamsa has stated that a kingdom existed in Nagadipa in the sixth century B. C. The Kailayamalai† states that the Aryan dynasty of Jaffna was founded in 101 B. C. This fact is further strengthened by a remarkable event in the same year—namely—the recapture of Anuradhapura by the Sinhalese from Elala. Probably the Tamils, who fought so valiantly against Dutugemunu under Elala and Bhalluka might have retreated to the peninsula, and with the native population established a separate principality. The Manimekali about the second century A. C. has referred to a king of Nagadipa as, "He who rules over the Naga country without fear." The discovery of 'Puranas' at Kanterodai is a further indication of ancient settlements in this part of the Island. Thus from all sources from the fifth century B. C. to the second century A C., the northern kingdom of Jaffna seems to have had a separate independent existence.

Lambakanna Rulers A. C. 127 - 196 (1)

In 127 A. C., 'one sprung of the Lambakanna clan named Vasabha whose home was in the Northern Province', became king of Anuradhapura. His rule lasted till A. C. 171 His son Vankanasika Tissa and his illustrious grandson Gaja Bahu I (A. C. 174—196), ruled one after the other. Gaja Bahu married a Naga princess of

* R. A. S. Vol. I No. 3 Page 70.

† An old Jaffna chronicle.

Jaffna most probably a sister* of Mahalla Naga. After the king's return from the inauguration ceremony of a temple for Kannakai in India,† he introduced the new cult in his kingdom. A temple for Kannakai was built at Anganamai-kadavai (Angana = a godess) near Kanterodai. He also caused a colossal statue of his to be erected before the temple in order to impress the public of his edict The statue was found by Sir Paul E. Pieris in a broken state in the premises of the temple, and was later removed to the Jaffna museum.

The Silappadikaram records that king Gaja Bahu caused festivals to be carried on in honour of Kannakai with processions along the streets on Mondays, in the month of Adi (July—August) under the belief, that the goddess would dispel all ills and grant them their prayers. Consequently seasonal rains fell, and the land became prosperous by the yield of good and abundant harvests.

* Translators differ. Some say that the princess was the daughter of Mahalla Naga.

† கடல் சூழிலங்கைக் கயவாகு வேந்தனும்
அன்னுட் செய்த நான்மணி வெள்ளியுள்
வந்தி கென்றே வணங்கினர் வேண்டத்
தந்தேன் வரமென் றெழுந்த தோர்குரல்.

Sil. Canto XXX.

When king Gaja Bahu of Lanka surrounded by the sea worshipped (Kannakai), and prayed to her to appear, and grant his prayer at the sacrifice performed on that day, there rose a voice saying that his prayer was granted.

Jaffna Nagas A. C. 196—303

After the death of Gaja Bahu in A. C. 196, Mahalla Naga (A. C. 196—202) succeeded to the throne of Anuradhapura. According to Mr. G. C. Mendis, Mahalla Naga was the grandson of Vasabha (a Lambakanna). Though the king built many viharas in different parts of the country, he did not fail to build one in his native country Nagadipa.

On the death of Mahalla Naga his son Bhatika Tissa (A. C. 203—227) succeeded as king in Anuradhapura. When this king died, his brother Kanittha Tissa (A. C. 227—245) came to the throne. He repaired the edifice constructed over the cetiya at Nagadipa.

After Kanittha Tissa's death his son, who was known as Khujjanaga, reigned for one year. His younger brother Kuncanaga (A. C. 248—249), when he had slain the king his brother, reigned for nearly two years. This king married a Brahminee.*

Sri Naga (A. C. 249—268), a Brahman by birth, succeeded his brother-in-law Kuncanaga as king. His son Voharika Tissa (A. C. 269—291) succeeded him as king of Anuradhapura. Perhaps he, being the son of a Brahman, was the first in this country who made a law forbidding bodily injury as penality for crime. During his reign Muka Naga, his minister, built a wall round Tissa Vihara in Nagadipa.§

* Rasavahini II Page 170. History of Buddhism Page XL.

§ Mahavamsa Geiger Chapter XXXVI, 36 and 37.

After a civil war which has already been dealt with, Voharika Tissa's younger brother known as Abhaya Naga (A. C. 291—299) ruled for eight years. His brother's son Sri Naga succeeded him as king and ruled for two years.

Vijaya Kumara reigned for one year, and was killed by those who succeeded him. Thus ended the rule of the Northern Nagas.*

Lambakanna Rulers A. C. 303-431 (2)

Again the Lambakannas, who were officers of state at Anuradhapura, regained power and became kings. The first of these was Sangha Tissa (A. C. 303—307), the commander of troops. As this king had a great liking for jambu fruits, he made frequent visits to the island of Pacina ‡ to eat them. These royal visits annoyed the people, for on every occasion they had to receive him with all honour due to a king. In one visit the dissatisfied people poisoned his fruits, and the king died as an effect of eating them.

This king was succeeded by Sri Sangha Bodhi (A. C. 307—309). His minister Gothabaya turned traitor, fled to the North, and came with a Tamil army. The king, who was a very spiritual minded soul, in order to avoid unnecessary bloodshed left the capital. Gothabaya soon seized the kingdom and reigned for thirteen years (309-322).

* As the Brahman family of Sri Naga had mixed up with the Nagas by marriage alliances, it could not maintain its purity.

‡ Most probably one of the divisions of Jaffna where the Pacina Vihara was built by Devanampiya Tissa.

There is a great similarity in the selfless sacrifice of Sri Sangha Bodhi with that of Tamil Kumanan of Kudiramalai, as described in Puranaanuru. When a prize was placed by the usurper for the head of Sangha Bodhi, the ex-king requested a friend of his to cut off his (Sangha Bodhi's) head and obtain the reward. On account of this selfless sacrifice the later kings of Ceylon took pride in adding Sri Sangha Bodhi to their names.

Gothabaya's two sons Jettha Tissa I (323—333) and Mahasena (334—362) ruled at Anuradhapura in succession. It was during the latter's reign, 'a bhikku from the Chola people named Samghamitta',* tried to propagate Mahayana Buddhism in Ceylon. Mahasena was the only king of Ceylon who destroyed Hindu shrines.

Kit Sri Mevan, son and successor of Mahasena, is notable in history, because in his reign the Tooth Relic was brought from the Kalinga country by a Brahminee. This king was succeeded by his younger brother Jettha Tissa II who ruled for nearly ten years, and left the throne to his son Buddhadasa.

Fa Hien, the great Chinese traveller, visited Ceylon in the reign of Buddha dasa. He lived two years in Anuradhapura and made copies of the sacred books. His account of Ceylon is important, because it confirms many statements recorded by the chroniclers of Ceylon.

* Mahavamsa Chap. XXXVI—113.

Upatissa I (~~389~~-409), son of Buddhadasa, succeeded to the throne and ruled for nearly forty two years. The queen consort, who had an incestuous intimacy with the king's younger brother Mahanama, murdered the king.

Soon Mahanama (409-431) assumed the kingship and took as his queen his brother's queen consort. It was in this reign that the great Indian Buddhist monk Buddhaghosa, who may be called the second founder of Buddhism in Ceylon, visited this country. During his stay here, he rewrote in Pali the Sinhalese commentaries. He also wrote a book called, 'The Path of Purity' or 'Visuddha Magga'.

Mahanama was succeeded by his son, Sotthisena (A. C. 431) by his Tamil queen. He was put to death by his step-sister Sangha, on the very day of his accession.

Pandyan Rulers 433—460

In the reign of one of the Pandyan rulers of Anuradhapura, the Tamil fishermen of Keerimalai had desecrated the wells of Naguleswara temple, and the priests ceased to perform their customary services. On receipt of this information, the Pandu king held an inquiry, and drove away the fishermen from that area. Many of them migrated to the coasts of Batticaloa in the Eastern Province. It was during this period as metioned earlier that Kulakoddan a Chola prince came to Konamalai, and built the temple and the Kantalai tank.

From A. C. 460, the Sinhalese royal dynasty assumed power under Dhatusena (460—478). He

was followed by five other kings, and the last king Siva was killed by a Lambakanna named Upatissa.

Lambakanna Rulers 522—556 (3)

Soon after Upatissa became king as Upatissa II (522—524), his son-in-law Silakala rebelled against him and assumed the kingship. Silakala's second son Dhathapubhati I seized the throne on his father's death, but was soon defeated by his elder brother Mugalan II (537—556). His son Kittisiri Meghavanna, reigned for an year. He seems to be the last of the Lambakanna clan according to the Chronicles.

Kings like Maha Naga and two others, Agbo I (568—601) and Agbo II (601—611), who succeeded Naga, probably belonged to the Lambakanna dynasty. According to the Vaipava Malai in A. C. 593, king Agbo I on intimation that the Vanniyas ware trying to assume the title of kingship, led an expedition against them and broke their power and pride. His successor, Agbo II built a Relic House in Nagadipa.

To sum up, direct rule by the Tamils over Ceylon had lasted for more than a century. The Lambakanna royal clan of the North began with Vasabha, and ended with Gaja Bahu in A. C. 196. Then a pure Naga dynasty began with Mahalla Naga of the North, and ended with the murder of Viyaya Kumara* in A. C. 303. Soon the Lambakannas regained power and their rule lasted till A. C. 431. Then for a third time the Lambakannas ruled for thirty

* Ancient Jaffna Page 31.

four years. Thus it is clear that for nine hundred years after the coming of Vijaya, the Jaffna kingdom preserved its individuality and existed undisturbed.

Cosmas, a Greek traveller of the early sixth century, says that there were two rival kings in Ceylon, one of whom possessed a famous gem and the other governed the coast districts, where trade was carried on with foreign nations. It is the opinion of Sir Emerson Tennet that Cosmas refers to the kingdom of Jaffna and its busy ports Matota and Kudiramalai.

To state briefly, the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries were a period of strife between rival monarchs in Lanka. It was a period of revolution, murder, and rebellion. Sinhalese princes were fighting for the throne with the aid of Tamil armies. The insular position of Jaffna and its distance from the capital, caused the ambitious aspirants to the Sinhalese throne to make use of the peninsula as a convenient base for their war-like preparations against the capital. The presence of a dense Tamil population in the Northern Province and the proximity of the northern coasts of Ceylon to India, favoured the Indian armies to utilize Jaffna as a base for their military operations. Hence, in all conflicts in Ceylon it was Jaffna that suffered the greatest.

In the civil wars of the Island the rival parties would plunder, and lay waste the districts, where the people were not in their favour. The lands were thus ruined. Agriculture was thus destroyed. When an aspirant succeeded

in winning the crown of Lanka, and if he had no money to pay the Tamils for their services, then the soldiers were allowed to help themselves by plundering. The Tamils in these centuries became very powerful. The capital Anuradhapura stripped of its riches became very unsafe for the Sinhalese kings to live in.

Revolt of the North

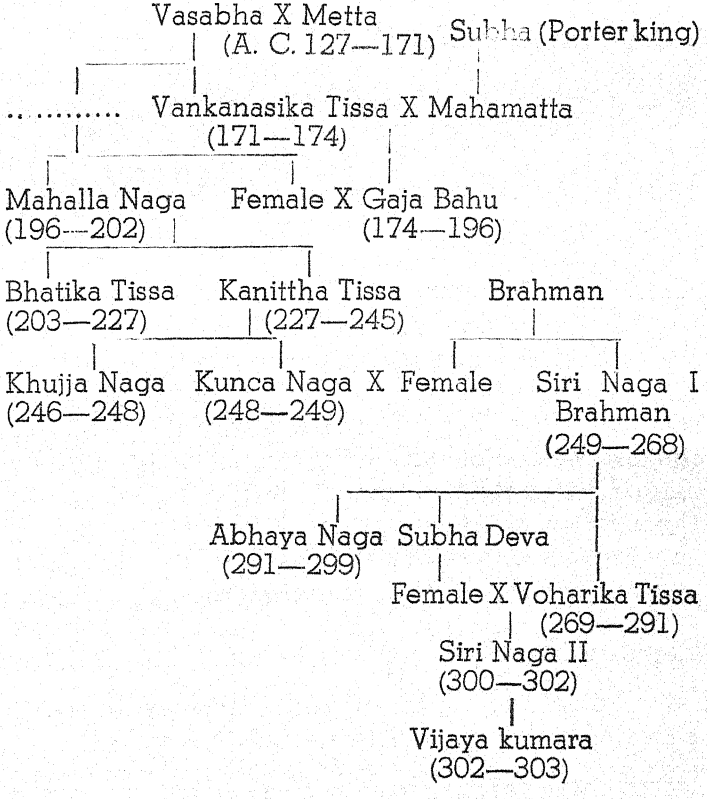
Mahinda II (772-792) on the orders of king Agbo VII (766-772) betook himself to the seaport Matota probably to watch over the Tamil districts and resided there. During this period the king died, and Mahinda hastened to the capital. Relating to this period the Mahavamsa says: "Then in Uttaradesa (the Northern Province) the chiefs of the districts together with the dwellers in the province seized the land by force and refused tribute to the king"* On hearing this, Mahinda advanced and crushed the rebellion. Then once again when Mahinda was engaged in suppressing a revolt led by Dappula, the chiefs of the Northern Province occupied Anuradhapura, and again the northern people were driven out of the town.

At the close of the eighth century, Pallava influence was greatly decreasing on the continent. Rival aspirants to the throne of Lanka could not seek Pallava intervention in their disputes. Prince Dappula, the governor of Ruhuna, had signed a treaty with Mahinda II after making three attempts to regain the kingdom. A political vacuum was thus created in the Northern Province.

* Culavamsa Chap. 48 — 83

THE NORTHERN DYNASTY

Lambakannas



CHAPTER VI

THE JAFFNA KINGDOM (Contd.)

THE KALINGAS

Ugra Singan 795—(1)

ACCORDING to the Yalpana Vaipava Malai in 717 Salivahana (A. C. 795), Ugra Singan, a prince of the dynasty, founded by king Vijaya's brother, made a descent upon Lanka with a numerous force from Vadathasam (India), and after a severe struggle possessed himself of one half of Lanka which had been lost to his dynasty for a long time. Thus the record in the Mahavamsa of a revolt in the latter part of the eighth century in the Northern Province is corroborated by this statement of the Vaipava Malai. Ugra Singan reigned at Kadiramalai (Kanterodai), and later on shifted his capital to Singai Nagar,* a town on the eastern coasts of the peninsula. It remained the capital of the Jaffna kingdom for the succeeding six and a half centuries.

Eastern Coasts

The eastern part of the Jaffna peninsula is remarkable for the extensive remains of buildings

*தென்ன நிகரான செகராசன் றென்னிலங்கை மன்ன வுலகுஞ் சிங்கை யாரியமால்".—*Kailaya Malai.*

Singai Aryan Segarajan (Segarajasekaran), the king of Ceylon, like unto the Pandyan.

along the coast. There must have been a high road running from Singai Nagar probably to the centre of the Island. The following places are dotted with the ruins of buildings: Amban, Nagercoil, Kudarappu, Chempianpattu (Chempian was a great Chola general), Mulliyan, and Vettilaikerni.

Important finds of great antiquity were found at Vallipuram by Sir Paul. E. Pieris, and later by others. In 1846, in this coast a very large number of ancient coins about 7000 were found buried in a blue and white glazed jar, just three feet from the ground. The jar was near the feet of a human skeleton on which were many gold jewels. A ring was found on the finger bone. Ornaments and bars of gold were found in the jar *

The temple at Nagarcoil is a very ancient one. To the inhabitants of this coast, this celebrated ancient shrine is hallowed with the memories of sacred traditions. The Vishnu shrine at Vallipuram is another important temple in this coast. The place names Nagarcoil and Vallipuram have their counterparts in South India, one in the Malabar coast and the other in the Coromandel coast. Similarly Kovalam is another name found in Travancore. These places in the coasts of the Jaffna peninsula must have been the ancient gateways through which peaceful colonists found their way to the peninsula. 'Kokila Sandesaya', a Sinhalese work of the

* R. A. S Vol. I No. 3, P. 156.

fifteenth century, makes mention of the Vishnu shrines at Vallipuram and Ponnalai.

While Ugra Singan was establishing himself at Kadiramalai (Kanterodai), a Chola princess, Marutappiravikavali, was recuperating her health at Kumarathy Pallam near Keerimalai. He fell in love with her, and carried her forcibly and married her. It was a political move to raise himself in the estimation of his subjects, and to ensure the legality of his progeny.

In fulfilment of a vow the queen had made, the king and the queen founded the Kandaswamy temple at Mavittapuram. At the queen's request, her father (a Chola king?) sent a Brahman, Periamanathular of Sithamparam, to officiate at the temple together with all the necessary images. The priest landed with the images at Kankesanturai (so named, because the image of Gankeyan or Kandaswamy was landed), formerly known as Gayaturai (so named, because it was the place of embarkation for Buddhists who went to Gaya). Periamanathular married Valambikai, the daughter of Sambasiva Iyer, and continued his services at the temple.

Jeyatunga Vara Raja Singan (2)

Ugra Singan had a daughter Senpakavathy and a son named Nara Singan. After a successful reign the king died. When his son came to the throne, he assumed the name of Jeyatunga Vara Raja Singan. It was during his reign that the famous ministrel, associated with the town of Yalpanam, visited the court of Singai Nagar.

During the time of Sena I (831—851), the Pandyan king Srimara Srivallabha invaded the Northern Province and took Anuradhapura. Probably in this war, Jeyatunga must have lost his life, for nothing is said of his immediate successors in the Jaffna chronicles.

St. Manickkavasagar

Nikaya Sangrahava, a Sinhalese Chronicle, records that Sena I was made a convert to the Saivite faith by an ascetic clad in the robes of a priest. In the story of the Saiva saint Manickkavasagar, it is said that he converted a Sinhalese king to the Saivite faith, and cured the king's daughter of her dumbness. Further, St. Manickkavasagar in his well-known Tamil classic 'Tirukkovaiyar', in stanzas 306 and 327 refers to Varaguna, the Pandyan king of his time. There were two kings in this period by that name Varaguna I (765 - 815) and Varaguna II (862 - 880). As the saint is said to have lived to the age of thirty two, and as Sena's reign was (831-851) the author of 'Tirukkovaiyar' must have lived in the middle of the ninth century.*

Travellers

About A. C. 850 a Muhammadan named Suleyman visited Ceylon and climbed Adam's Peak. He says that there were two kings in Ceylon, one of whom was the ruler of an Island called Zapage. We have to infer that in those

* One helpful evidence to determine the period of St. Manickkavasagar.

uncertain days the kingdom of Jaffna was being formed.

Since the death of Jeyatunga, for a period of three centuries, the history of Jaffna is shrouded in darkness, though occasionally we hear about the country and its kings in the records of our neighbouring countries.

A. C. 944 - 1240

From the ninth century the Kalinga kings of Jaffna were ruling the northern kingdom, but during the greater part of the tenth and eleventh centuries they were under the suzerainty of the Cholas. In A. C. 944 the Cholas invaded the northern part of Ceylon, and Jaffna became a part of the Chola kingdom. Uttama Chola administered it from Padaviya or from Mantota. There are many Chola inscriptions in these centres that lead one to draw such an inference.

In the tenth century Abu Zaid, a Muhammadan traveller, repeats the statement of Suleyman that the Island of Ceylon had two kings, one of whom was ruling over an island, named Zabage with other neighbouring islands. Masudi, another traveller of the same century, in his 'Meadows of Gold', refers to a Maharaj of Zabedez (probably Yalpanam).

Kalinga Kings 11th Century

The eleventh century Manimangalam inscription of king Rajendra Deva (1052-1064) refers to one Manabharana as the king of Ceylon. As there is no such Sinhalese king in the eleventh century by that name, then he must have been

a king of Jaffna. The same inscription further refers to four kings of Ceylon who were deprieved of their crowns, and whose names are Vikkama Bahu (1029 - 1041), Vikkama Pandu (1044 - 1047), Vira Sala Megha, and Siri Vallabha Madana Raja. The first two were Sinhalese kings. The inscription further states that Vira Sala Megha, king of Ceylon, came from the country Kannakuchchi (Jaffna). The Jaffna people, who were very much influenced by Malabar customs, had the side knots on their heads, and hence, the name Kannakuchchi for their country. The Portuguese and the Dutch referred to the Tamils of Ceylon as Malabars, and referred to the two Tamil provinces by one name Malabar Province.

Marriage Alliances

Just as in the centuries preceding the Christian era Sinhalese princes had marriage alliances with Naga royal families, so in the tenth and eleventh centuries members of the Sinhalese royalty had marriage alliances with the Kalingas. These marriages were greatly influenced by the politics of the period.

For the first time Mahinda IV (956–972) married a Kalinga princess. According to learned opinion, the Kalinga dynasty known as Eastern Gangas had not by this time established their power in Kalingam (Orissa), and therefore Mahinda IV might have married a Kalinga princess of Jaffna. His grandson Vikkama Bahu I (1029—1041) married Lokita, the daughter of Mahinda's brother-in-law. When Mahamalla, the brother of Senapati Sena, was killed by the

eldest son of Mahinda IV, the Senapati with the help of the Tamils wanted to take strong action. The king in fear fled to Ruhuna with his son Sena, but the queen stayed behind, and took the side of the Senapati in giving over the country to the Tamils. Probably the Senapati must have been a Tamil, and the queen's alliance with the Tamils in a political crisis only reveals her Tamil origin.

Vijaya Bahu I (1070—1114) like his grandfather Vikkama Bahu I married a Kalinga princess, Tilakasundari from Sinhapura. With her came three princes her kinsmen. The monarch granted each of them befitting maintenance. The younger sister of these princes, Sundari by name was later given in marriage to his son, Vikkama Bahu II. As Singapura of Kalinga was insignificant at that time Vijaya Bahu might have married a Kalinga princess of Singai Nagar of Jaffna. The king built viharas in the Jaffna peninsula, an instance of his interest in the native country of his queen.

Vijaya Bahu gave his sister Mitta in marriage to a Pandu prince. The prince had three sons Manabharana, Kittisiri Megha, and Sri Vallabha. These names are similar to the names found in the Manimangalam inscription of king Rajendra Deva. It is an ancient custom of the Tamils to name one's sons after the names of one's father and father's brothers. Hence, Pandu Raja must have been the son of one of the Ceylon princes Manabharana or Sri Vallabha, the princes mentioned in that inscription, and of

whom it was inferred as belonging to the Jaffna royal house of the Kalinga dynasty.

The Tamil prince Manabharana, the son of Pandu Raja, married Ratnavali, the daughter of Vijaya Bahu, and his Tamil queen Tilakasundari. Parakrama Bahu I, who became famous in the history of Ceylon, was the illustrious son of Manabharana.

Before the birth of Parakrama Bahu, 'rites like the 'Homa' sacrifice and others held to be salutary were performed by the house priest and other Brahmans, versed in the Vedas and Vedangas'* When the the prince was born, the birth rites † were performed for the boy.‡ Later his father had the ceremony of the piercing of the ears, and the ceremony of the first rice food performed exactly according to custom.§ These are purely Tamil customs. Vikkama Bahu II, Parakrama Bahu's maternal uncle, sent ornaments for the boy and other valuables as gifts.[1] It is the custom among the Tamils even to-day for the maternal uncle to send ornaments to a new-born nephew.

The Upanayana ceremony was performed for the prince.[2] The investiture of the Brahman and

* Culavamsa Chap. 62,—33.

† (a) Giving of life (b) Giving of understanding (c) Giving of the breast (d) The giving of the name.

‡ Culavamsa Chap. 62,—45.

§ " " ",—53.

1 " " ",—61.

2 " " 64,—13.

the Kshatriya castes with the sacred cord worn over the left shoulder and under the right is known as the Upanayana ceremony. The Chola and the Pandya kings never had this emblem. The kings of south Ceylon never had it, but it was only the members of the Jaffna royal dynasty, being a mixed descent of the Kalinga dynasty and the Brahman royal dynasty of Rameswaram who wore the sacred emblem. It is clear that Parakrama Bahu I belonged to the Jaffna royal dynasty, and therefore he was overlord of Jaffna. Being the grandson of a Tamil prince, he had no difficulty in assuming power over Jaffna. The stone inscription of Nainativu was a notice put up by Parakrama Bahu concerning the rules of the port.

Nainativu Inscription

The translation of the inscription runs as follows: "Foreigners must land and remain at Uraturai (Kayts), and they must be protected. If foreigners land at new ports, they should meet at this port. If ships laden with elephants and horses carry elephants and horses for the service of the Treasury, and are wrecked, a fourth share should be taken by the Treasury, and the other three parts should be left to the owner. If merchant vessels are wrecked, a half share should be taken by the Treasury, and the other half left to the owner. These edicts are inscribed on stone and copper. These edicts are promulgated by Deva Parakrama Bhujo."*

*Ancient Jaffna P. 208. It is engraved in Archaic Tamil characters of the 11th or 12th century.

Tondaiman

Karunakara Tondaiman was a great general of Kulottunga I (1070—1118), and is referred to in a Tamil poem 'Kalingatu Parani'. It was this Karunakara Tondaiman who caused a canal to be contructed in the Jaffna peninsula to transport in small vessels the salt from the salterns of Karanavay and Vellaiparavai. The general also built a temple for Lord Ganesha near his residence at Inuvil. To-day this shrine is known as Karunnakara Pillaiyar temple. Ever afterwards the canal has been known as Tondaimanaru after the name of that illustrious general. *

Arya Kings 12th Century

Puhalendi, a famous Tamil poet and a contemporary of Ottakuttan, lived in the time of Vikrama Chola (1118—1135) and his son Kulottunga II (1133—1150). He came to Ceylon on a pilgrimage to Kataragama. When he had an audience with the king of Jaffna at his court in Singai Nagar, he received him kindly and presented him with an elephant and a bounteous purse. The poet uttered the following verse when the Pandyan king offered a price for the elephant: "He who made crowned heads to attend at the door of the poet, and to beg for his elephant was Singai Arya Sekaran who inscribes (his emblem) 'the Bull' on the nine conti-

* Vaipavamalai.

nents, on the breasts and broad shoulders of his enemies, and on the golden Meru."*

Again when the great poet heard of the death of his gracious patron, he uttered the following verse, "Oh is it fate? Curse the day in which the great Arya king was carried away by the messengers of Death! Will fire burn his sacred eyes which were beaming with grace, and were even cooler than the eyes of the young fruit of the palmyra? ‡

Viradeva

In the reign of Vikkama Bahu (1116—1137) as mentioned earlier, 'a warrior lord of the Arya country, Viradeva by name sole sovereign of Palandipa (probably Palaitivu, an island between Mannar and Jaffna) landed at Matota with a mighty force'.† The Arya country means the territories of the Arya kings of Jaffna. In the neighbourhood of our Island there was no

* "பாவலன் வாசலில் வந்திபம் வாங்கப் படிபுரக்குங்
காவலர் நிற்கும்படி வைத்த வாகண்டி யொன்பதினும்
மேவலர் மார்பினுந் திண்டோளினுஞ் செம்பொன்
மேருவினுஞ்
சேவெழுதும் பெருமான் சிங்கை யாரிய சேகரனே."

—*Tamil Navalar Saridai.*

‡ "அஆ விதியோ வடலா ரியர்கோமான்
என வலராலிறந்த நாள்—ஓஓ
தருக்கண் ணினுங் குளிர்ந்த தண்ணிதத் தாண்ட
திருக் கண்ணினுஞ் சுடுமோ தி."

—*Tamil Navalar Saridai.*

† Culavamsa Chap. 61,—36

country or a royal dynasty by that name 'Arya', except for Jaffna and its kings. There seems to have been no island by the name 'Palandipa'. It can be stated, therefore, that Viradeva* was a chieftain of Palaitivu which was in the territories of the Arya kings of Jaffna.

The members of the Kalinga dynasty of Jaffna, who were aspirants to the throne of Lanka, and were also kinsmen of the royal house of Polonnaruwa, must have instigated Viradeva indirectly, and given him full support in his campaign against Vikkama Bahu. The fact, that this king was a Hindu and an anti-Buddhist, confirms that his mother Tilakasundari, belonged to the Kalinga royal house of Jaffna. Thus the causes that led to the invasion of Viradeva are clear in view of these facts.

Sadayappa Mudali

Kambar, the celebrated author of the Tamil Ramayana was a court poet of Rajaraja II (1146—1173). Sadayappa Mudali was his patron. In one occasion this great philanthropist sent a munificent gift of paddy in thousand ships to relieve a great famine of the kingdom of Pararajasingan. The book, 'Tamil Chola Mandala Sadagam' contains a reference to this gift. In an elegant Tamil verse, the said king has conveyed his thanks to Sadayappa Mudali. There was no king by the name of Pararajasingan in South Ceylon, hence, it refers to the kings of Jaffna who often took the throne name Pararajasekaran.

* A Tamil name.

Kings of Jaffna

The above instances indicate that the kings of Jaffna in the twelfth century were called as Singai Arya kings. They were also known by the throne names of Pararajasekaran and Segarajasekaran which they took alternately.

The Kalinga kings of Jaffna were of a mixed descent claiming to be Ganga Vamsa, the ruling race of Kalinga and the Brahmans of Rameswaram. After their marriage alliances with the Sethupathis of Rameswaram, they assumed the title of Sethukavalan—'Protector of the Shrine of Rameswaram.' The progeny that followed were known as the Aryan dynasty. Their flag was a recumbent 'nandi' (bull) with the crescent. They had a separate coinage. These kings wore a sacred thread over their shoulders, an emblem showing that they were of Aryan origin. Bertolacci, therefore, wrote: "The town of Matota is said to have been the capital of a kingdom founded by the Brahmans who had possessions of almost all the northern part of Ceylon including Jaffna Patam."

The kings of Jaffna claimed the title of Arya kings, as explained in the Tamil book 'Segarajasekara Malai.' It records that Rama before his return to India appointed two rulers to carry on the government organized by him, and conferred on them the title, 'Arya kings', and that the Jaffna kings were lineal representatives of that

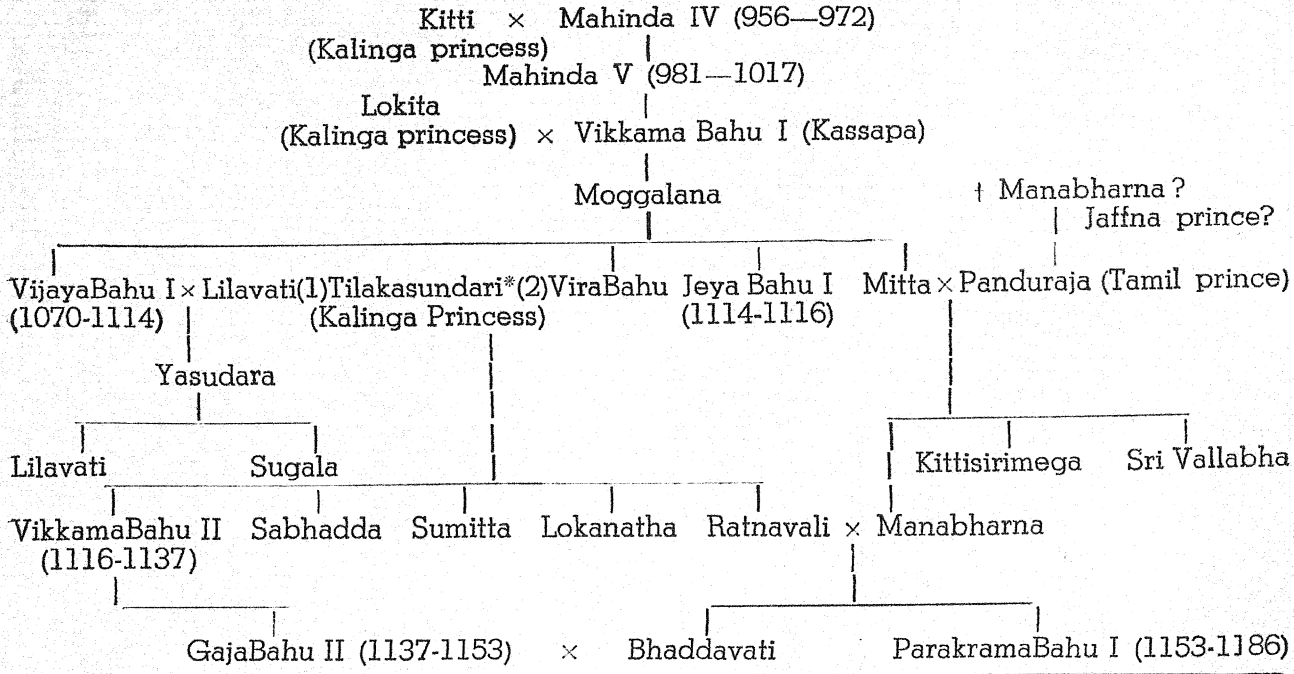
ancient government, and inherited the title.* This may be an overstatement of their origin, but Sir Paul. E. Pieris has said very convincely in one occasion that according to the Portuguese writer De Livera, one of the Brahman Sethupathis of Rameswaram married a princess of the Jaffna dynasty and their progeny subsequently became kings of Jaffna, and were known as the Aryan dynasty. Further, the Portuguese historian De Quieroz also endorses the same view. The Aryan dynasty ruled the northern territories of Ceylon for a continuous period of four hundred years from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, and in the fourteenth century the Jaffna kingdom was in its zenith of power.



* "அவர்தங்களிலிருவர், காசினிதாங்கும்படிவரங் கொடுத்
துக்கமழ் செழுந்தளப மாலிகையு, மாசறுசுருதி யாரிய வேந்
தென்றணி மணிப்பட்டமுங்கொடுத்துத், தேசறு குடையு
மொற்றையும் வெற்றித் திகழ் விடைத்து வசமுநல்க,"

—Segarajasekara Malai.

DESCENT OF PARAKRAMA BAHU I



* Tilakasundari and Panduraja are the children of Manabharna is the opinion of Mudaliyar C. R.

† From the copper plates of Rajendradeva II Mudlr. C. Rajanayagam concludes the prince to be of the royal dynasty of Jaffna.

CHAPTER VII

THE JAFFNA KINGDOM (Contd.)

ARYA CHAKRAVARTIS

The Jaffna Chronicles

ACCORDING to the Vaipava Malai, among the kings of Jaffna, Kulankai Chakravarti was the first king to assume the title of Chakravarti (emperor). The same chronicle records that during the troublesome periods, when there were invasions and counter invasions of the peninsula, many inhabitants thought it prudent to leave Jaffna for good to India. Of those who remained behind, was a high-born Vellala Pandy Malavan of Ponpattiyur in India. He went to South India, and there met Singai Aryan or Kalinga Vijaya, the nephew of Singa Kethu, and perusaded the prince to take over the Jaffna kingdom to which kind request the prince then acceeded. This same story of Singai Aryan is found in the Kailaya Malai,* an earlier work than the Vaipava Malai.†

*Kailaya Malai was written by Mutturasar a South Indian Tamil.

† Vaipava Malai is a work written by Mailvagana Pulavar of Mathagal in 1736. He based his work on Kailaya Malai, Vaiya Padal, Pararajasekaran Ula, and Rasa Murai. The last two are now lost. An English translation of the Vaipava Malai was written by Britto and was published in 889. A Tamil version of the same work is edited by Mudaliyar K. Sabanathan.

The 'Vaiya Padal' records that an early colonist 'Yalpanan' brought many settlers to the peninsula. It gives a graphic description of the various settlements of the Vanni Districts. It is more plausible to state that the Vanniyas were the remnants of those Tamil armies that were periodically brought to this country either by aspirants to the throne of Lanka or by invading princes and chiefs. The Vanniyas were powerful even in so early a period as the sixth century as to call the attention of Agbo I. On the other hand it should be noted that from the time of Vijaya, kings of Ceylon, in order to make the country self-sufficient in food always encouraged Tamil colonists, for they knew best the art of rice cultivation.* According to 'Konesar Kalvettu', Kulakoddan in order to cultivate the temple lands and to look after the temple, brought a number of Vanniyas as settlers.

Singai Aryan 1215-1240 (3)

In 1215, Kalinga Maha, otherwise known as Kalinga Vijaya Bahu and by the author of Yalpana Vaipava Malai as Vijaya Kulankai Chakravarti or or Singai Aryan, became king at Polonnaruwa. He claimed the kingdom by inheritance through his kinsmen who ruled before him. As he persecuted the Buddhists, his rule was very unpopular. He reigned for twenty one years at Polonnaruwa, and during this period Jaffna must have been ruled by a sub-king. This ruler might be the Pararaja who was killed in the Chola

*'Sketches of Ceylon History' by Sir P. Arunachalam

Pandyan war of Maravarman Sundara Pandya (1216-1244).*

Tamil War 1236-1244

While Kalinga Magha was ruling in Polonnaruwa, Parakrama Bahu II had grown powerful in Dambadeniya. Magha and his men had to retreat to safer places, as Polonnaruwa became untenable after A. C. 1236. Though he had strong fortifications all over the country he could not subjugate the Sinhalese in the hill districts. In this war he had a strong ally in Jeya Bahu who had wielded great influence in the country for several years. The war seemed to have continued for eight years, and ended by A. C. 1244, but Kalinga Magha and his descendants never lost their power and overlordship of Jaffna. Like Singai Arya Chakravarti all kings, who followed him, assumed the title of Chakravarti.

Kulasekhara Singai Aryan 1240-1256 (4)

About the year 1240 Arya Chakravarti died, and he was succeeded by his son Kulasekhara Singai Aryan, under the throne name of Pararajasekaran. During his time Andaka Kavi Vira Raghava Mudaliyar, a blind Vellala poet, visited the court of Pararajasekaran, and received valuable gifts for his poems. The king was so pleased

* Tirukolur inscription: 'He (Sundara Pandya set fire to Tanjore and Uraiyur, fought the Cholas, defeated him and drove him into the forest, spread his fame by annoin ing himself as a hero in the coronation hall of the Cholas, severed the head of Pararaja, and riding on an elephant, entered the streets of the holy city of Sithamparam.

Ancient Jaffna P. 289.

with the poems, that he requested the poet to compose 'Arurula' which became a standard work. When Ceylon was invaded by Jatavarman Sundara Pandya between 1254-1256, Kulasekhara was taken captive, and Pandita Parakrama Bahu made to pay tribute. Kulasekhara's reign seems to have lasted sixteen years.

Kulottunga Singai Aryan 1256-1279 (5)

After the death of the king, his son Kulottunga Segarajasekaran (1256-1279) succeeded to the throne. He engaged himself in developing agriculture, and thereby increased the revenue of the country. As a result of a dispute over the right of pearl fishing in the Gulf of Mannar, there was a war* between Bhuvaneka Bahu I and Arya Chakravarti. As an outcome of the war, the whole of Ceylon came under the overlordship of the kings of Jaffna for a considerable time. For the first time in the history of Jaffna, the kingdom of the North made its influence felt in all parts of the Island. Kulottunga Singai Aryan was one of the most brilliant warriors of his day and one of the greatest kings of Jaffna.

Vikkrama Singai Aryan 1279-1302 (6)

On the death of Kulottunga, his son Vikkrama Singai Aryan (1278—1302) came to the throne under the name of Pararajasekaran. In his reign there was a great disorder between his Sinhalese and Tamil subjects. Punchi Banda, the leader of

* This campaign is dealt with in another chapter.

the revolt and seventeen others were tried and executed. Many Sinhalese were imprisoned. Soon there was peace, but several Sinhalese inhabitants left the country for good.

About 1293, Marco Polo, the great Venetian traveller, passed Ceylon through the Palk Strait. In his book of travels, he has recorded that the whole of Ceylon was ruled by a king named Sandemain. There seems to have been no king at Yapahu at this time, for Bhuvaneka Bahu I died about 1284 after a reign of eleven years. Parakrama Bahu III, who succeeded him, came to the throne in 1302. Hence, the ruler referred to by Marco Polo in 1293 was probably the king of Jaffna. Singai Aryan must have been referred to as Sandemain.

Varothaya Singai Aryan 1302-1325 (7)

When Vikkrama died, his illustrious son Varothaya Singai Aryan ascended the throne of Singai Nagar under the name of Segarajasekaran. During his period there was peace in the country. He issued various orders pertaining to religion.

When Sundara Pandyan, the rightful heir of the Pandyan kingdom, appealed to Singai Aryan for assistance to regain his throne, Segarajasekaran went with an expeditionary force to India, regathered Sundara's army and together with all the forces, defeated the enemy Vira Pandya, and regained the throne of Madura for Sundara Pandya. This success was not to last long, for the Cheras in 1313 overran the Pandyas. Later a Muhammadan dynasty soon established itself in Madura

When Singai Aryan was away in India, the Vanniya chieftains planned to rebel, and they appealed to the Sinhalese king for assistance. As there was no response, the agitation failed. The king on his return held an inquiry, and after a satisfactory investigation pardoned the rebels.

In 1322 Friar Odoric, a Catholic priest, in one of his travels touched a port of Jaffna. He has given a vivid picture of the Jaffna king and of his ornaments and jewellery.

Varothya Singai Aryan established an assembly of poets for the encouragement of learning and for the dissemination of Tamil culture which institution continued to flourish even in the succeeding reigns.

Marthanda Singai Aryan 1325-1348 (8)

With the death of Varothya, his son Marthanda Singai Aryan (1325 - 1348) ascended the throne under the name of Pararajasekaran.

Ibn Batuta

Ibn Batuta, an Arabian traveller visited Pararajasekaran's capital and enjoyed the hospitality of the monarch. He describes the king he met as the Sultan of Ceylon, and was called Arya Chakravarti. He tells us that Buttala (the modern Puttalam) was his capital, probably the king must have gone there for the supervison of the pearl fisheries.

At the interview he had with the king, he told him that there was an alliance between

himself and the Sultan of the Coromandel coast. The king further told him that he and his comrades were welcome to his country, until they depart. Batuta informs us that the king was very much interested about the foreign kings he had met. The monarch showed him a large quantity of pearls which he had collected, and offered him some for his acceptance.

He further tells us that Arya Chakravarti was a very powerful king on the sea, and that he had seen his fleet of a hundred merchant vessels with merchandise consigned to the port of Yemen (in Arabia).

Ibn Batuta mentions that Arya Chakravarti was a king with a good and liberal education, and one who knew the Persian language.

Gunapooshana Singai Aryan 1348 - 1371 (9)

When Marthanda Singai Aryan died, his son Gunapooshana Singai Aryan succeeded him under the throne name of Segarajasekaran. The king took a keen interest in the economic upliftment of his people by the establishment of various industries in his kingdom. For the production of clothes this king is said to have brought weavers from Andhra and Kanchipuram and settled them in the village of Vannarponnai.

John de Marignolli

In 1343 John de Marignolli, who led an embassy from the Pope of Rome to the Khan of China, spent some days in Jaffna. He has

given an account of his travels. During his stay in the peninsula, he visited the queen Saba, and was once present at one of her magnificent banquets. The female attendants of this queen cured him of a chronic dysentery with native herbs. Her majesty owned chariots and elephants, and once he had the opportunity to ride on one of those elephants. He also records that the queen presented him a golden girdle and other costly raimants of delicate material, and that he was robbed of those beautiful gifts at Beruwela in the southern coasts. Lastly, he speaks of a perennial spring at the foot of a mountain, probably he refers to Keerimalai.

These facts indicate that Gunapooshana Singai Aryan was a minor, when Marignolli visited Jaffna and that his mother the queen might have been the regent. This matter is further endorsed by the Catalan map of 1375 in which Ceylon is called 'Illa Iana' (probably a corruption of Tamil Ilam). This map also represents a queen ruling the northern part of the Island.

Tamil Colonization

Notable events in the history of South India at this time had their repercussions on the history of the Jaffna kingdom. In the early fourteenth century the Pandyan kingdom was overrun by the Muslims, and a Sultan assumed power in Madura. The Pandyan rulers were incapable of regaining their sovereignty.

By 1346 the Vijayanagar kingdom had grown in power and influence, and the history of its expansion is the continuous resistance of the check

offered by Hindu civilization and culture in South India against the aggressive onslaughts of Islam and its culture. During the years 1365 to 1370 Kumara Kumpana II, son of Bukka (1344-1377) who was the ruler of Vijayanagar, undertook a military expedition against Madura, and succeeded in overthrowing the Madura Sultanate. Thus the Pandyan state was saved from the oppression and cruelty of the Muslims.

When Vijayanagar rulers assumed the overlordship of the Pandyan kingdom, they began to reorganize the internal administration of the country in order to make it more efficient. They replaced Tamil officers of state by Telugu officers to ensure loyalty and obedience.

All these changes embittered the ruling class the Vellalas, and many of them left their traditional homelands to seek new homes in the Jaffna peninsula. The villages where they made their settlements are mentioned in detail in the Kailaya Malai and the Vaipava Malai. *

* The settlements according to the Vaipava Malai.

1. Tirunelvelly—Pandi Malavan, his brother, Senpakamalavan, (cousin of Pandimalavan) and his brother.
2. Myleddy—Narasingathevan.
3. Tellipalliai—Senpakamapanan, his kinsman Santhirasegaramapanan, and Kanagarayan Chetty.
4. Inuvil—Peraiyiramuddaiyan.
5. Pachilapalli—Nilakandan and his four brothers.
6. Tholpuram—Kupakarajendran and Punniyapoopalan.
7. Koyilakandy—Thevarajendran.
8. Irupalai—Mannadukondamudali.
9. Delft—Thaninayakam.
10. Puloly—Kanagamalavan and his four brothers.

The Pallas, a tribe of people, who help the Vellalas in their cultivation, also accompanied their masters, and settled in close proximity to them. Thus it is clear that one of the colonizations in the Jaffna peninsula occurred during the fourteenth century.

Virothaya Singai Aryan 1371 - 1380 (10)

Virothaya Singai Aryan succeeded his father Gunapooshana Singai Aryan, and assumed the throne name of Pararajasekaran. Although his reign was a short one, it was remarkable for the great progress the country made in the field of agriculture, industries, and education.

The Sinhalese subjects in his kingdom were frequently put up by the Vanniyas to revolt. Knowing these, the king at first subdued the Vanniyas and curbed their pride. Then he quelled the Sinhalese rebels, and pardoned those who sought his forgiveness. He raised the Vanniya chieftain of Omuntai who had helped him in the subjugation of the rebels to the position of the first chieftain of the Vanni Districts.

The king seems to have died under mysterious circumstances, and is said to have been poisoned. One night in 1380, he retired to bed after his dinner, and was found dead the following morning in his room.

Jayaveera Singai Aryan 1380 - 1410 (11)

On the death of Virothaya, his infant son. Jayaveera succeeded him under the throne name Segarajasekaran. At this time Bhuvaneka Bahu V

was the king of Gampola, and Alagakkonara was wielding power at Kotte and fortifying the city to challenge the overlordship of the Jaffna kingdom. For it must be noted that the Jaffna kingdom in the fourteenth century was a very powerful state. Her territories included Puttalam and Mannar in the west, and Trincomalee in the east, together with the seven Vanni Districts in between. The Arya Chakravarti had a powerful merchant fleet, and had a personal share in the cinnamon trade of the Island. Ibn Batuta has said that Arya Chakravarti was the Sultan of Ceylon.

The young prince Jayaveera soon grew in power and strength, and became the most power ful monarch of his day in Ceylon. When Ala gakkonara hanged the tax collectors of Arya-Chakaravarti, the king was incensed and declared war. The fortunes of this great war is dealt with in another chapter.

Another event of importance occurred in this reign. A great force of Vadagars once descended on the peninsula, and Jayaveera fought them near Kachchaiturai and drove them with great losses. A court physician took this opporunity to study human anatomy by dissecting the corpses in the battle field.* Nothing further

* இயம்பிய தோலுழுவு மென்பு நாடிகளுமற்றுஞ் செயம் பெறு சிங்கைநாடன் செகராச சேகரன்முன் வயஞ்செறி வடக்காம் உருட்டிய களத்தின்மீது அயரு சிறிதளது தீரஅளத்து கண்டறிந்தோம்.

Rev. Father Gnanapragasar quotes the above passage from an ancient Tamil work.

Yalpana Vaipava Vimarsanam page 92.

is known of these foreign troops and their leader. Vadagars were in the army of the kings of Vijayanagar, and this campaign might refer to one of their expeditions.

Just as Jayaveera was a great warrior so was he a great nation builder. During his period great medical works like 'Segarajasekaram' astrological works like 'Segarajasekara Malai', works dealing with the science of numbers, and religious works like 'Dakshina Kailaya Puranam' were produced.

Like all Arya kings of Jaffna he helped the development of Saivism, and took special interest in the Koneswara temple. The Dakshina Kailaya Puranam speaks of him as 'one born for the establishment of Saivism.'†

Gunaveera Singai Aryan 1410-1440 (12)

When Jayaveera Singai Aryan died after a glorious reign, his nephew (son in the opinion of some) Gunaveera Singai Aryan came to the throne under the name of Pararajasekaran.

Like his predecessor he laboured for the propagation of Saivism. As the kings of Jaffna were the trustees of the celebrated shrine of Rameswaram, Pararajasekaran caused the 'Ketppa-kiragam' (main shrine) to be built with stones which material was taken from Trincomalee by sea to the Indian coast.*

† 'சைவந் தோன்றிடத் தோன்றினன்' *D. Kailaya Puranam.*

* Arch S S I. Vol. IV, pp. 56, 57, shrines.

For the encouragement of Tamil learning, the king patronized the Tamil assemblies. Pararajasekaram', one of the best medical works of the Sittha system, was produced in this reign. Singai Aryan died leaving a son Kanagasuriya Singai Aryan. The new king came to the throne in 1440.

★

	Arya Kings		Throne Names.	
1.	Kalinga Arya Chakravarti		Segarajasekaran	I
2-	Kulasekhara Singai Aryan		Pararajasekaran	J
3.	Kulottunga	,, ,,	Segarajasekaran	II
4.	Vikkrama	,, ,,	Pararajasekaran	II
5.	Varothya	,, ,,	Segarajasekaran	III
6.	Marthanda	,, ,,	Pararajasekaran	III
7.	Gunapooshana	,, ,,	Segarajasekaran	IV
8	Virothya	,, ,,	Pararajasekaran	IV
9.	Jeyaveera	,, ,,	Segarajasekaran	V
10.	Gunaveera	,, ,,	Pararajasekaran	V
11.	Kanagasuriya	,, ,,	Segarajasekaran	VI
12.		Singai	Pararajasekaran	VI
13.	Sangily	,,	Segarajasekaran	VII
14.	Puviraja Pandaram	,,	Pararajasekaran	VII
15.	Periya Pillai	,,	Segarajasekaran	VIII
16.	Ethirmannasinga	,,	Pararajasekaran	VIII

CHAPTER VIII

TAMIL EXPANSION SOUTHWARDS

1278--1450

VICTOR OF YAPAHU

Vaipava Malai

BHUVANEKA BAHU I (1273—1284) had a dispute with Arya Chakravarti, king of Jaffna as regards the right of pearl fishing in the Gulf of Mannar. Both kings rushed to arms, and after severe losses on both sides victory declared itself in favour of Arya Chakravarti. The victor became master of the vanquished, and one flag the flag of Yalpanam waved over the whole of Lanka. This state of affairs continued for twelve years, and the Jaffna king restored the kingdom to Parakrama Bahu through the mediation of Kulasekhara (1268—1309), king of Pandya, who personally guaranteed the annual payment of tribute by the Sinhalese king. The Sinhalese kingdom later continued to be a vassal of Jaffna for a number of successive reigns. Such is the account in the Vaipava Malai with regard to the taking of the capital Yapahu by Arya Chakravarti and the defeat of Bhuvaneka Bahu about 1278.

Mahavamsa

On the other hand the Mahavamsa referring to this incident says: "Once when (here in

Lanka) a famine arose there landed sent with an army by the five brothers, the kings who held sway in the Pandu realm, a Damila general known by the name of Arya Chakravarti who though he was no Arya was yet a great dignitary of great power. He laid waste the kingdom in every direction, and entered the proud stronghold the town of Subhagiri (Yapahu). The sacred Tooth Relic and all the costly treasures there he seized and returned with them to the Pandu kingdom. There he made over the Tooth Relic to king Kulasekhara who was as the sun for the lotus blossom of the stem of the great kings of the Pandus."

The chronicles represent Vijaya Bahu's son Parakrama Bahu III (1303—1310) as immediately succeeding to the throne after Bhuvaneka Bahu I. The Mahavamsa further relates: "As the ruler (Parakrama Bahu) saw no other means but friendly negotiations, he set forth in the company of several able warriors, betook himself to the Pandu kingdom and sought out the ruler of the Pandus. By daily conversations he inclined him favourably, received from the hands of the king the Tooth Relic, returned to the island of Lanka and placed the relic in superb Pulatthinagara in the former Relic Temple."

Analysis

The cause of the war between the two kings according to the Vaipava Malai is the pearl fisheries, but the Mahavamsa does not give the reason for the declaration of war by Kulasekhara.

The Mahavamsa refers to Arya Chakravarti as "a great dignitary of great power." The word Chakravarti signifies emperor and it is unlikely that king Kulasekhara would have permitted a general of his to assume the title of Chakravarti. On the other hand the Arabian traveller Ibn Batuta, who visited the Island in 1344, had an audience with the king of Jaffna. He describes him as the Sultan of Ceylon who was a very powerful king on the sea, and who was called Arya Chakravarti.

No record of an invasion of Ceylon is mentioned in the reign of king Kulasekhara in the Madura history. The invasion of Ceylon that took place in the reign of Sundara Pandya in 1254 is mentioned as a chief event in Madura history which fact has been omitted by the Mahavamsa. From these it is evident that it's author had sought to suppress facts.

Strangely enough the author - priest of the Mahavamsa refers to the man who sacked the capital Yapahu and one who removed the Tooth Relic, "as the sun for the lotus blossom of the stem of the great kings of the Pandus." If the minister of Kulasekhara had removed the Tooth Relic, surely the author would have invoked curses, but he pays an unconscious tribute to king Kulasekhara probably to the part he played in bringing about an amicable settlement later between the Sinhalese king and the king of Jaffna.

The same author wants his readers to believe that the Sinhalese sovereign went in person to

the capital of the enemy which is highly improbable, if Kulasekhara was the real enemy.

Again the same author has implied by his narration, that when the Pandyan forces left the Island, the aspirants to the throne of Yapahu were passive, and that no Sinhalese prince ever proclaimed himself as king. It is clear from these that the victor was the Arya Chakravarti of Jaffna and not any foreigner by that name. The Rajavaliya always refers to the king of Jaffna as Arya Chakravarti e. g. 'King Arya Chakravarti, dwelt at the seaport of Yapapatuna." In 'Ceylon Portuguese Era' by Sir Paul E. Pieris, Jaffna is described as "the seat of Aryavamsa" obviously an expression found in the Portuguese records.

'Segarajasekaram'

The 'Segarajasekaram' a work on medicine received the imprematur of the court of Segarajasekaran (1380-1410) king of Jaffna. A passage on Sarpasastram (a work on snake-bite) which is a portion of a treatise of the said 'Segarajasekaram' on medicine states as follows:- "The Sudra variety of cobra lives in ant-hills feeds on whatever it pleases him and plays spreading his hood looking at the earth—the earth which is covered by the shade of the white umbrella of Segarajasekaran the king of the Aryas residing at Singai who wields his sceptre so that the kings of Ceylon wearing crowns resplendent with

sapphires measure their tribute in gold."* The plural word kings used in the verse refers to the kings of the low country and the hill country. This verse further proves that the kings of South Ceylon paid tribute to the Jaffna kings.

'Rajaratnacari'

The Rajaratnacari calls Arya Chakravarti the ambassador of the five brothers of the coast of the Coromandel, and states that the Tooth Relic was sent to Kulasekhara. There was no necessity to send it, if Arya Chakravarti was a minister or an ambassador. He could have taken it himself when he returned.

Embassy to Egypt

Bhuvaneka Bahu I despatched an embassy to the Sultan of Egypt proposing an alliance, but died before the embassy returned. There must be an object in seeking an alliance with a king interested in the Persian Gulf pearl fisheries It is probable that Bhuvaneka Bahu's idea was

* "பாரினுள்ள சூத்திரனும் பாம்புபுற்றிற்
பரிந்திருக்கு மிரையெடுக்கிற் பலவுந் தின்னு
மேருடனே தாணுடிற் பத்மராக
மிலங்கு மணிமுடி பூணையு மிலங்கை வேந்தர்
சீரிய பொன் திறையைக்கச் செங்கோ லோச்சுஞ்
செகராச சேகரமன் னிங்ஙன மேவு
மாரியர்கோன் வெண்குடை யினிழ்மேல் செய்பு
மவனிதனைப் பார்த்து நின்றே யமர்ந்தாடும்மே."

Segarajasekaram M, Sarpa Sastram No. 8.

to get round the king of Egypt and with his assistance to win back the pearl fisheries from Arya Chakravarti of Jaffna. He must have also thought that in the absence of Tamil divers for working the fisheries, he could procure the services of Arabs through the king of Egypt. The reference of the Vaipava Malai to the cause of the war thus gains support from this Arabian reference.

Interregnum 1284-1303.

As Bhuvaneka Bahu's reign ended in 1284* and Parakrama Bahu's coronation was in 1303†

* Coronation of Parakrama Bahu II	1236
His reign lasted 35 years	35
Vijaya Bahu's reign 2 years	2
Bhuvaneka Bahu's reign 11 years	11
End of Bhuvaneka Bahu's reign	1284

† கனகமா மகுடஞ்சூடி காசினி யனைத்துங் காக்குங்
தனிமதிக் குடைக்கீழ்ச் சிங்காசனத்தின் மேலினிதிருந்து
மனுநெறி நடாத்திவாழு மங்கல வாண் டோரேழி
லினிய சோதிட நன்னூலைத் தகுழினு லியம்பெனேறுத.

In the seventh year of his auspicious and just reign, after his assumption of the sovereignty of the whole country under one incomparable umbrella, and seated on the lion throne wearing the golden crown, he ordered me thus: "You had better write the noble work on astrology in Tamil." Pandit Posa Rajah.

according to 'Sarajoti Malai',* there was an interregnum† of 19 years during which period the Island might have been directly ruled by the kings of Jaffna. This fact is supported by the account of the Vaipava Malai that the flag of Yalpanam waved over the whole of Lanka for a period of twelve years. But Mr. H. W. Codrington says that there was an interregnum of twenty years.

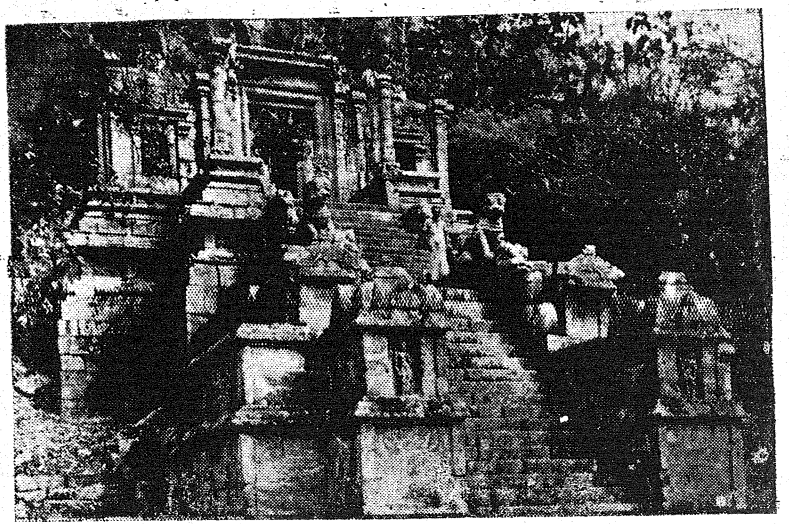
The account of the Mahavamsa is neither supported by contemporary history nor appears probable. On the other hand, the account of

‡ உரைத்த சகவருடமுறு மாயிரத்திருநூற்
றொரு நாலெட்டினிலிலகுவ சந்தந் தன்னிற்
றரித்திடு வைகாசி புதன் பௌயினுரிற்
றம்பை வளர் பராக்கிரம வாகு பூவ
னிருத்தரை வயிற் சாசோதிமாலை யீரா
றெய்து படலநூற் றொண் பான் முப்பானுன் காம்
விருத்த மரங்கேற்றினஞற் போசராச
விஞ்சை மறை வேதியனும் புலவரேறே.

Posa Rajah Brahman, learned in the Vedas and poet of high rank, placed the work entitled 'Sarajoti Malai' which is divided into twelve chapters, and contains in all 934 'Virutta' stanzas for approval before the learned assembly presided over by king Parakrama Bahu of Dambadeniya. It gave its approval on Wednesday, under the asterism, 'Anuda', in the month of 'Vaikasi' (May - June), the temperate season (Elevenier) of the Saka Year 1232 (A. C. 1310).

Date of the Coronation of Parakrama Bahu III
1310—7 = A. C. 1303.

† The interregnum is 1303—1284 = 19 years.



The Yapahu Stairway.

the Vaipava Malai is a simple, direct, and natural statement of the chain of events. Further, these accounts fit in with the subsequent history of the Island. They corroborate with the narrations of the Rajavaliya and the account of the Island written by Ibn Batuta.

Arya Chakravarti Invader of Yapahu

All these facts confirm that the king who attacked Yapahu in 1278, and carried away much booty was not a 'Damila general' of King Kulasekhara, but the Arya Chakravarti of Jaffna. It is also clear that Kulasekhara with all good intentions acted as a mediator for settling the dispute between Parakrama Bahu III (1303-1310) and the king of Jaffna. It was natural for Parakrama Bahu to have gone for a third party to intervene in a dispute of this kind.

Changing Capitals

In the years that followed the fall of Yapahu, the Tamil kingdom in the North grew in strength and power. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, Parakrama Bahu III was ruling at Polonnaruwa after accepting the position of a vassal of Arya Chakravarti of Jaffna.

During this century the kings of Jaffna were personally interested in the rich cinnamon trade, and this interest must have tempted them to annex the flourishing cinnamon lands of the North-western province. Under these circumstances the Sinhalese kings were forced to establish their new kingdoms in the fastness of their mountains.

Kurunegala

Bhuvaneka Bahu II (1310-1325), son of Bhuvaneka Bahu I, who succeeded Parakrama Bahu III, made Kurunegala his Capital instead of the traditional capital Polonnaruwa, where his predecessor lived. This change (according to Kurunegala Vistaraya) is attributed to an insurrection of the people of Yapapatuna. Surely an insurrection a hundred miles away would not have influenced a king to move his capital. The real cause of this move might have been the pressure brought to bear on him by the king of Jaffna for the payment of tribute.

The next king of Kurunegala was Parakrama Bahu IV (1325-?), son of Bhuvaneka Bahu II. He built fine temples and was a patron of Buddhist learning. Many religious books were translated into Sinhalese during his time. He was succeeded by two other kings. Vanni Bhuvaneka Bahu III, and Vijaya Bahu V, of whom nothing is known. They both ruled from Kurunegala.

Ibn Batuta

The writings of Ibn Batuta, who visited Ceylon in 1344 throw some light on the history of this period under survey. He records that Arya Chakravarti was kind enough to send with him and his comrades an escort of four yogis, four Brahmans, palanquin-bearers, and provision carriers to proceed on a pilgrimage to Adam's peak. They went through many Sinhalese districts and passed through Conacar whose Sultan was Conar.

It is not clear whether Conacar refers to Kurunegala or to Gampola. As rubies were found near the city, it seems fairly certain that Conacar, cannot be Kurunegala. Further as the city furnished guides to Adam's Peak, according to Ibn Batuta, Gampola might be the city referred to as Conacar. Conar in all probability indicates Alagakkonara, who was once at Gampola and later at Rayigama and at Kotte.

From the Peak Ibn Batuta and his party returned via Dondra and reached Colombo from which he embarked to his native country. The fact that these pilgrims were not molested on their journey through Sinhalese districts, confirms the account of the Vaipava Malai that the king of Jaffna held sway over Ceylon during this period.

Gampola

Ceylon history books are again silent as regards the sudden removal of the capital from Kurunegala to Gampola about A. C. 1344. It was a move perhaps to seek shelter in the fastness of the mountains. Bhuvaneka Bahu IV (1344-1354) must have refused to pay tribute to the Jaffna king and there might have been pressure from that quarter.

Parakrama Bahu V (1344-1359) and Bhuvaneka Bahu IV were brothers and married a common queen Vihara Maha Devi. Parakrama Bahu seems to have been co-regent with his brother at Gampola. Bhuvaneka Bahu was a patron of Buddhism and many Viharas like Lankatilaka and Gadaladeniya were built during his reign.

Towards the end of Parakrama Bahu's reign Vikrama Bahu III (1357-1374) seems to have been co-regent with him at Gampola. He was a weak and unwise king, that real authority and power came to be wielded by his minister Alagakkonara. Towards the latter part of Vikrama Bahu's reign matters had become very irksome, and Sinhalese kings and ministers could not bear long the humiliation of paying the annual tribute to Jaffna kings. Nissanka Alagakkonara and his brother Attanayaka left Gampola to Rayigama to devise measures to throw off the Jaffna suzerainty.

League of Rajahs

The extraordinary tension of this period can best be understood from the stone inscription found in Kegalle (Sessional Paper 19 of 1892, Page 15). It refers to the formation of 'A League of Rajahs' under Vikrama Bahu III in order to oppose Arya Chakravarti. The decipherable portion reads thus: "They will not transgress (the compact) and having sworn by the Tooth Relic of the all-knowing one"—then follows the description of other forms of oaths.

Kotte

One day while reviewing his army, Alagakkonara said to himself, "It is not fitting to pay tribute to anyone while there is an army so large as this." He then began to fortify a village called Darugrama (Kotte) which nature had provided with a moat of swamps, marshes, and a lake. For twenty years he built it probably with workmen from Kanchipuram. He constructed dams

and moats for the storage of water. He erected ramparts and bastions round the city to help its defence. The ensign of the Cholian dynasty, the tiger, was worked on mortar on all sides of the ramparts due probably to the fact, that his ancestors belonged to the Chola country. He built four temples for the protection of the four quarters of the city dedicated to the gods Vishnu, Vibhisana, Subramanya, and Lakshmana and ordered regular services to be performed in them. He further stored the necessary weapons for withstanding a long siege and, 'collected salt, coconuts, and paddy sufficient to last for several years.'

Jaffna War

Alagakkonara, having strengthened himself, was ready to take the field. When, Arya Chakravarti sent his tax-collectors, and 'caused tribute to be brought to him from the hill and the low districts and from the nine ports.' Alagakkonara hanged them. "On hearing this", the Rajavaliya says, "Arya Chakravarti kindled with rage like unto a cobra which strikes terror by its poison brought thousands of Tamil men from the country of Soli and sent them forth with instructions to attack Gampola and Jayawardana Kotte on one and the same day." One division went by Matale to Gampola, the other division went by sea and made encampments at Negombo, Colombo, and Panadure. When the Jaffna army reached Matale, Bhuvaneka Bahu fled in fear to Rayigama. Those in the Sinhalese army at Gampola said among themselves: "What profiteth us a king who has deserted an army such as we are?" The Nikaya

Sangrahawa says that the Tamil soldiers were all clad in armour of various hues and carried weapons and wicker screens. Alagakkonara attacked and defeated the Tamils at Gorakana in Dematagoda. He burnt their ships at Panadure. The people of Udarata joined together and completely routed the Tamil forces at Matale. This is the version of the Jaffna war according to the Rajavaliya. This war must have occurred between the years 1382 and 1390.

If this war had liberated the Sinhalese sovereigns from their position of feudatories to the Jaffna kingdom, then why was it not mentioned in the Mahavamsa? Perhaps the learned author thought by suppressing those events connected with the Jaffna war he could thereby conceal the Jaffna overlordship of the Island.

The half-hearted way in which the fortunes of the Jaffna war has been told in the Rajavaliya leads one to suspect that the outcome of the war was not altogether in favour of Alagakkonara.

Kotagama Inscription

The Tamil inscription which was found by Mr. H. C. P. Bell at Kotagama in the Kegalle District supports the above suspicion.* The following is a revised translation of the Tamil verse proffered by the Government Epigraphist for India to the Ceylon Archaeological Department in 1932.

* Report of the Kegalle District by Mr. H. C. P. Bell Page 85.

"Setu"

"The innocent women-folk of Anuresar, who did not submit to Aryan of Singai Nagar of foaming and resounding waters exhibited drops of water in their pairs of lance-shaped eyes and spread their forehead marks† on their beautiful lotus-like hands."‡

There can be no doubt that this record refers to a victory of Arya Chakravarti of Jaffna over a Sinhalese king. The epigraph is prefaced by 'Setu'. This motto appears on the coins of Jaffna, but also in the books of that period. Singai Nagar or Singai is the Jaffna capital. Anurai is the usual abbreviation of Anuradhapura in Tamil literature, and later it has been used for any Sinhalese capital. The next question is how to account a Tamil inscription in the heart of the Sinhalese country. It is a fine record which a people would have made in their capital to celebrate a remarkable victory. But this inscription has been found at a village about hundred and fifty miles from the Jaffna capital.

No war was fought by the Jaffna kings in the Kegalle district except the above campaign, when there was a simultaneous attack both on

† Erased their forehead marks in token of their widowhood.

"சேது"

‡ கங்கணம்வெற் சண்ணினையாற் காட்டினர் க மர்வளைப்
பங்கயக்கை மேற்றிலதம் பாரித்தார்—பொங்கொலிநீற்ச்
சிங்கை நகராரிய னைச்சோ வனுமேசர்
தங்கள் மடமாதர்தாம்."

Kotte and Gampola. If the land army that went by Matale, had sustained defeat in the hill country, the routed Jaffna forces would not have had time to cut leisurely a poetical inscription on their flight. From these it is clear that the Jaffna war was not a success altogether to Alagakkonara, and that the suzerainty of the Jaffna king was not shaken.

Jaffna Expansion

Thus the Tamil domination of the Island is proved by Arya Chakravarti's victory at Yapahu in (1278?). Just after a period of sixty six years, Ibn Batuta in 1344 calls Arya Chakravarti, the Sultan of Ceylon. The successive removals of the capitals of the Sinhalese kingdom from Yapahu to Kurunegala, Gampola, Rayigama, and finally to Kotte all in a period of hundred and forty years speak for themselves of a Tamil expansion. The Sinhalese chronicles, the Sinhalese works, and the writings of foreign travellers refer to the kings of Jaffna as Arya Chakravartis. The Jaffna overlordship of Ceylon is conclusively proved by the assertion in the Rajavaliya that Alagakkonara fortified Kotte, as it was not fitting to pay revenue to Arya Chakravarti and then hanged his tax-collectors. As a minister of Vikrama Bahu IJI (1357—1374) Alagakkonara began to construct Kotte, and thereby one is led to infer that the subjection to Jaffna might have been from the previous reigns of Parakrama Bahu V and his brother Bhuvaneka Bahu IV. But it was during their reign we have the statement of Ibn Batuta that Arya Chakravarti was the Sultan of Ceylon. The inscription about a 'League of Rajahs', for

withstanding against Arya Chakravarti also go to indicate that Tamil domination in the fourteenth century remains an undisputable fact. The Kotagama poetical inscription also lends support to the Jaffna overlordship of the Island during this period. In this connection Mr. H. W. Codrington says: "The very position of Kotte in the swamps near Colombo is a proof of the straits to which the Sinhalese had been reduced, and there can be little doubt that the Jaffna kingdom was for a time paramount in the low country."

Results

As a result of the Jaffna war, the Abyssinian garrison was soon withdrawn and the Muslims of Colombo evacuated the town, and were absent for a considerable period of time. During the fourteenth and the latter part of the thirteenth centuries the extensive power of the Jaffna kingdom both on the land and on the sea had checked the growth of Muslim expansion in Ceylon. For it must be remembered that the expansion of Muhammadan rule in India in the fourteenth century had reached the city of Madura, and many a Hindu kingdom in the South had ceased to exist. Fortunately the power of the Jaffna navy and the insular position of the Island had helped the kings of Ceylon to maintain their independence in those critical years of the history of the Island.

Rayigama

After the death of Vikrama Bahu III, Alagakkonara or Alageswara still continued to hold a dominant position during the time of Bhuvaneka

Bahu V (1374 - 1405). The latter was a weak and unwise king like his predecessor. After the Jaffna war, Bhuvaneka Bahu V could not return to his capital Gampola, for the people did not want a king who had deserted them. He spent the rest of his days in the low country.

In 1386, Kumara Alageswara succeeded his father to the sub-kingdom of Rayigama. Vira Alageswara, the nephew of the senior Alageswara succeeded Kumara Alageswara after an year. Vira Alageswara (1387 - 1392) (1398 - 1410) was a Hindu like his famous uncle and hence, he was not very popular among his Buddhist subjects.

On the other hand his brother Vira Bahu (1392—1398) was a Buddhist, and was loved by the people. He attacked and defeated his brother, and became the ruler of the country. He lent his patronage to Buddhism and generously helped all Buddhist establishments.

Vira Alageswara, who had fled to India after being defeated by his brother, came with a Tamil force, and defeated Vira Bahu in 1398. Later he continued to rule till 1409, when he and his family were taken prisoners by the Chinese. From that time onwards Ceylon continued to pay tribute annually to China until 1459. After the capture of Vira Alageswara, Parakrama Bahu Epa was proclaimed king at Rayigama. When the Emperor of China saw the captives, he took pity on them and released them. On the day of Alageswara's arrival in the Island he was killed. The new sovereign Parakrama Bahu VI became co-regent with Parakrama Bahu Epa. He then shifted his capital to Kotte in 1415.

TAMIL EXPANSION CHECKED

Parakrama Bahu VI

Parakrama Bahu was often known as the son of Vijaya Bahu, and his Tamil queen Sunetra Devi. The chroniclers failed to mention definitely the father of Parakrama Bahu VI. Sunetra Devi, after the loss of her husband lived in obscurity for the safety of her two children. Probably she must have been in her ancestral home, at Dedigama. The young prince married a Tamil queen and had a daughter Ulukundali Devi.

The king had strong leanings towards Hinduism, and often strove to give equal support to Hinduism and Buddhism. The Munneswaram temple at Chilaw was given an enormous grant by the king for its maintenance.

The Vanniyas, a tribe of Tamils, lived in the wild jungles between the Jaffna kingdom and the Sinhalese territories. The rulers of these principalities obeyed neither the king of Jaffna nor the kings of Kotte and gave enough worries to bolt them. Parakrama Bahu sent his adopted son Senpahap Perumal to the Vanni Districts to sub due the Vanniyas. He conquered them and made them pay tribute to the king of Kotte.

Senpahap Perumal

As Senpahap Perumal played a great role in the subsequent history of the Jaffna kingdom, it is necessary that we know more about him. In the time of Parakrama Bahu VI, there arrived at the court of the king a Cholian Pannikan, 'a man

of great activity and sagacity.' The king welcomed him to his court, and married him to a woman of rank. There were two sons and a daughter by this marriage. The elder of the two was called Senpahap Perumal, while the younger was called Kadai Kumarya.* Kadai is a Tamil word meaning last. Senpahap Perumal was called Sapumal Kumaraya by the Sinhalese. Sapumal is the Sinhalese rendering of Senpaham.

These two sons grew in power and strength that the king thought that they might one day prove dangerous to his grand son. He, therefore, tried to keep them engaged in distant campaigns either in the jungles of the Vanni Districts or in the forest-covered Kandyan hills.

The Invasion of Jaffna 1450

Now that the subjugation of the Vanni Districts brought the Sinhalese forces to the very gates of the Jaffna kingdom, Parakrama Bahu thought of overthrowing and overpowering Arya Chakravarti of Jaffna. "Tell him", said the king to Senpahap Perumal, "that as it is not fit that Lanka should have two emperors, I have sent you to relieve him of the new title, and as he could not rest contented with what he had you will give him somewhat more rest."

The first invasion of Jaffna was not successful, but in the second attempt Senpahap Perumal was able to get a landing on the peninsula opposite Punakari. At this time many Sinhalese lived

* De Couto R. A. S. Vol. XX. No. 60 Page 69.

in Jaffna, and they too joined their compariots. A great battle was fought, and Senpahap Perumal's forces entered the city of Singai Nagar. Kanagasuriya Singai Aryan abdicated the throne, and escaped to India with his family and children.

The independent kingdom of Arya Vamsa that had been autonomous, thus after many centuries became feudatory to the kings of Kotte. Senpahap Perumal assumed the title of Bhuvaneka Bahu, and ruled as a sub-king of Kotte.

Nallur A New City

As the ancient city of Singai Nagar founded by Ugra Singan was reduced to ashes and ruins by the war, it was unfit to be used as a capital. Bhuvaneka Bahu, therefore, founded his new capital at Nallur, and there built a shrine for the god Subramaniya. This event is endorsed by the fact that the name of the founder Sri Sanga Bodhi Bhuvaneha Bahu is a part of the "Kattiyam" which is daily repeated during festival periods at the Kandaswamy temple at Nallur.

According to the Vaipava Malai, Jaffna was under the kingdom of Kotte for seventeen years, and one Vijaya Bahu was appointed viceroy. This ruler tyrannized over the people, compelled them to adopt Sinhalese dress, manners, and habits, and punished those who disobeyed his orders.

In the meanwhile Kanagasuriya Singai Aryan, after leaving his two sons Pararajasekaran and Segarajasekaran for their education, at Tirukovil in South India, went on pilgrimage to various

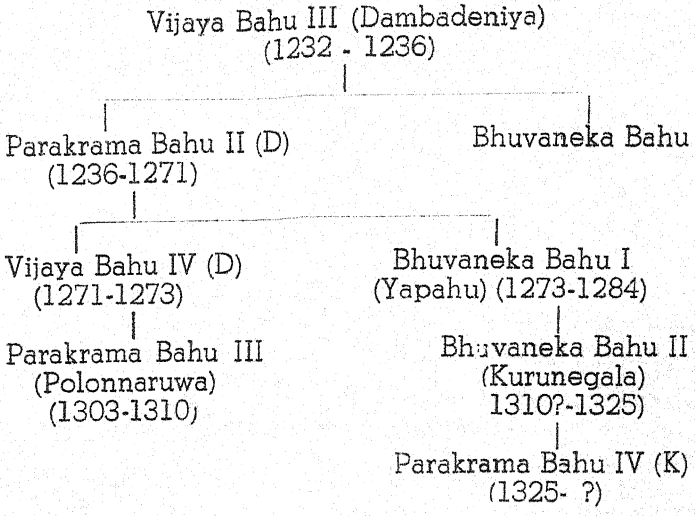
holy places. Lastly, he and his wife visited Trincomalee, and there performed many rites and ceremonies at the holy shrine, Having fulfilled all his vows, he visited his sons who having completed their full education had developed into handsome warrior princes.

Recapture of Jaffna

After getting the needful assistance from the princes of Sonth India, Singai Aryan in 1467 descended on the peninsula with an expeditionary force to regain his kingdom The Sinhalese ruler at Nallur was taken by surprise, when he saw the Tamils entering the capital by the western gate. He took the command in person, rallied his forces, and fought valiantly, but Pararajasekaran, the elder of the two princes, displayed great skill in slaying the viceroy, and defeating the forces of the enemy. Thereafter, many Sinhalese families, who were in Jaffna, left the country in fear of their lives. Once more the rule of the Arya Vamsa was established, and lasted for another one and a half centuries.

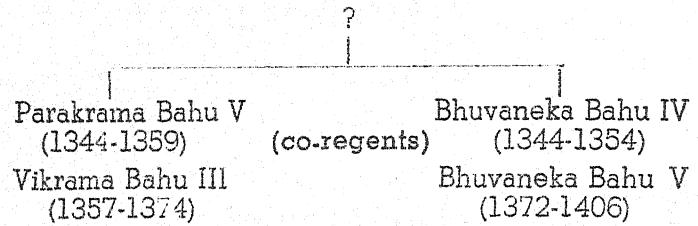
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LUNAR DYNASTY

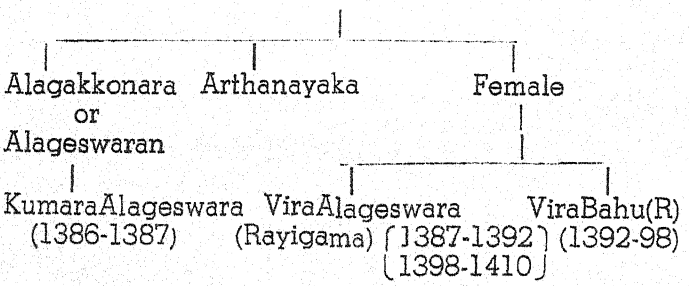


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GAMPOLA KINGS



THE FAMILY OF ALAGAKKONARA



CHAPTER IX

THE JAFFNA KINGDOM (Contd.)

THE LAST PHASE OF THE ARYA KINGS

Kanagasuriya Singai Aryan 1467-1478 (13)

KANAGASURIYA Singai Aryan, after he regained his kingdom, resolved at first to relieve the suffering of his people who had undergone immense hardship during the period of the Sinhalese occupation of the Jaffna peninsula.

He laid out plans for the proper construction of the new city of Nallur, and divided it into well-marked divisions to house the different classes of citizens consisting of priests, merchants, artisans, soldiers, seamen etc. After ruling for some years, he handed the administration of the country to his eldest son Pararajasekaran, and lived a life of retirement till his death in 1478.

Pararajasekaran 1478-1519 (14)

The new king Pararajasekaran married Rajaluxmy Ammal, a princess of the Chola dynasty, and had two sons Singa Bahu and Pandaram. He took for his second wife, Valliammai, the daughter of Arasakesari, a lineal descendant of the celebrated Vellala family of Pandimalavan. By this consort the king had a son named Paranirupa-

singam and four other children. His third wife Mangathammal* had a son named Sangily.

The king being one interested in the propagation of Saivism, caused the construction of Vailukunta Pillaiyar temple, Kailavanathar temple, Saddanathar temple, and Veerakali Amman temple in his capital Nallur.

Assembly of Poets

While Pararajasegaran was ruling his subjects wisely and justly, his brother Segarajasekaran re-established the Tamil Assembly of Poets which had become defunct during the period of the Sinhalese rule. Segarajasekaran went to South India and collected various manuscripts, and brought down many learned scholars for the dissemination of Tamil learning and culture. He engaged the services of scribes from Rameswaram to copy down standard works. In this manner Segarajasekaran created a deep interest for Tamil learning among the people. Arasakesari, a nephew of Pararajasegaran, translated the great Sanskrit classic 'Raguvamsam' into Tamil, and presented the same to the learned audience at Tiruvarur. 'Pararajasegaran Ula' one of the chronicles of Jaffna was written during this period. This great revival of Tamil learning in the Jaffna kingdom caused a great galaxy of writers to flourish in the succeeding centuries.

* According to 'Yalpana Vaipava Vimarsanam' by Rev. Father Gnanaprakasar, Mangathammal was his third wife and not a concubine.

Prophecy

Another important event occurred in this reign. There came to the court of Pararajasekaran at Nallur a prophet and a seer Supathidda Munivar to forewarn the king, his ministers, and the people against impending calamitous days to the Jaffna kingdom. The verse that was found on the temple stones of Koneswaram, and which was seen by Constantine de Sa before its destruction in 1624 is also attributed to this great seer. The prophecy has already been dealt with in a previous chapter.

By this time the princes of the royal household had already received their education in all the arts and sciences of their times. Among these Sangily was a selfish and ambitious prince who would not hesitate to adopt base and unscrupulous methods to achieve his own ends. When Sinha Bahu, the crown prince, met with a sudden death, Sangily was greatly suspected of having administered poison to his elder step-brother. Soon after, when Paranirupasingam one of his elder step-brothers was away in Kandy to treat a long standing ailment of the queen of Kandy, Pandaram, the next in succession to Singa Bahu, was brutally murdered by some unknown hands. Though the aged king was then living, he was helpless for he himself feared his son Sangily.

Sangily Segarajasekaran 1519 - 1564 (15)

After his father's death in 1519, Sangily assumed the throne by winning the support of the army, and by conciliating his elder brother

Paranirupasingam with false promises. When he had strengthened his position on the throne, gradually he began to break his assurances given to his brother, and thereby antagonized him. He also put to death the supporters of the lawful heirs. These cruel acts embittered his own subjects, and made them hostile.

SEGARAJASEKARAN AND THE PORTUGUESE

Meanwhile an important event occurred in the south which later greatly affected the history of the Island for the next four centuries. The Portuguese, in 1505, had made their first landing in Colombo, but it was not till 1518 that they decided upon its conquest. As Vijaya Bahu (1509-1521) could not drive away the Portuguese from his territories, they were able to secure a footing in Colombo. In the end he was forced to submit, and pay tribute to the king of Portugual.

During this period the Jaffna kings claimed the right to all ships stranded off the coasts of the Jaffna kingdom, and Segarajasekaran seized many a ship of the Portuguese which got wrecked off his coasts. According to one source (Correa) an expeditionary force was sent by the Viceroy at Goa to punish Sangily for seizing stranded ships, and when it reached the island of Delft, the king settled the dispute by agreeing to pay compensation for the losses sustained by the Portuguese.*

* Yalpana Vaipava Vimarsanam Page 115.

Conversions and their Effects

It should be remembered that the Portuguese came to the East for 'Spices and Christians.' By 1534 many of the Paravas in the Coasts of Tuticorin had embraced Christianity, and St. Francis Xavier was carrying on a vigorous evangelistic work among them. It is said that the year 1544 has been the peak year of conversions in the East. These conversions of Hindus to Christianity in the Fishery Coast infuriated the Nayakka rulers of Madura and the Vadagars, the ruler's emissaries, were devastating these coasts. The new converts of Tuticorin and Nagapatanam could not find peace in their native countries. The Portuguese, therefore, began to cast anxious eyes upon the sparsely populated areas of North Ceylon to settle their new converts. They also wanted to get the control of the pearl-fishing in these coasts.

At this time a priest, who went under the name of Francis Xavier, was sent by St. Francis Xavier from India to Mannar to preach the New Gospel to the people. This move was made without the king's permission, but the priest was successful in winning converts to his faith. The fact, that Christian priests were making conversions in Mannar, was reported by Hindu priests to king Segarajasekaran. They said to him that unless he took prompt action, he would soon find himself without a kingdom, for the new converts were worshipping an unknown god in place of their native gods and goddesses.

The king, who was by now well acquainted with the strategy of the Portuguese, was fully

aware that the 'Banner of Christ' would soon be followed by the 'Banner of the King of Portugual.' He quite realized the strategic importance of the island of Mannar to his kingdom, and that the work of Christian missionaries was only a prelude to the Portuguese conquest of the island (Mannar). The king was fully aware that the Portuguese were trying to get a control of the pearl-fisheries. Furthermore he viewed the action of his subjects as an act of treason and disloyalty to the state. Hence, the enraged monarch, according to Portuguese historians, marched with a military force to Mannar, and in December 1544 put to the sword the priest Francis Xavier and about six hundred of his Kadeya subjects who had become Christians. Soon, the news of the massacre spread throughout Christendom. The king of Portugual took it as an affront to his person.

On the other hand the native kings of the East were unable to compromise with a foe who was rapacious, cruel, and bigoted. Unlike Bhuvaneka Bahu VII and his father Vijaya Bahu VII, who had taken up a conciliatory attitude in their dealings with the Portuguese, Sangily who was a stronger monarch, pursued violent methods to achieve his ends.

Segarajasekaran's persecution of the Christians in Mannar should be judged in the light of the period in which he lived. It was the period, when Tudor monarchs persecuted those that differed from them in their faith. It was also the age, when the ruler of France ordered the massacre of French Hugenots. Such was the age in which Segarajasekaran lived.

St. Francis Xavier, who was then in India, aghast at the news of the massacre, hastened to Goa and pressed Governor Martin Affonso de Souza to send an expedition and punish the king. The Portuguese authorities felt that, if he were not punished, there was no hope for Christianity in the East. The Governor, accordingly, ordered the Naval Captains to muster their men at Nagapatnam, and to get ready for the attack of Jaffna. It was also the plan of the Portuguese to replace Sangily by one of the Sinhalese princes who were refugees in Goa. With this end in view the Governor gave them strict orders that Sangily should be brought a captive or slain.

But meanwhile small-pox broke out in Goa, and the two Sinhalese princes succumbed to the disease. Furthermore a Portuguese merchantman, which was returning from Pegu had stranded off the coasts of Jaffna, and as the Portuguese hoped to recover their lost goods they stopped the declaration of war against Sangily.

Paranirupasingam

In Jaffna, at this time, Paranirupasingam together with some Christians were spreading dissatisfaction among the king's subjects. As Sangily was after him, he escaped to Mylapore and fled to Goa where he became a Christian, and hoped for a day when he might ascend the throne of his ancestors. The letters which he wrote to the Governors of Goa are still extant.*

* Yalpana Vaipava Vimarsanam Page 118.

The Portuguese, having now failed to punish the king of Jaffna for his atrocities, changed their tactics to win the monarch by peaceful means. To achieve this end St. Francis Xavier was sent as an emissary in 1548 to Nallur. How far his mission was successful, is not known.

Sinhalese Tamil Alliance

About 1547, Mayadunne of Sitawaka made an alliance with Segarajasekaran in his war against Bhuvaneka Bahu VII. In consideration of the friendship between them, a force of Vadagars was sent by Sangily to Mayadunne and participated in the campaign of Mayadunne against Kotte. †

Trincomalee Vanniyas

The Vanniyas of Trincomalee were at one time under the overlordship of the kings of Jaffna, and at another time under the kings of Kandy. Once the king of Kandy gave permission to the Portuguese to build a storehouse at the seaport of Trincomalee. In 1551 the Vanniya chieftain of Trincomalee died, leaving behind a son of eight years as his heir.

Segarajasekaran put forward his claim and affirmed that the said Vanniya was a direct descendant of his grandfather Kanagasuriya Singai Aryan. When the king took possession of the district, the family of the deceased and his

† Conquista Pages 112, 113. Yalpana Vaipava Vimarsanam Page 119.

heir escaped to the Coromandel coast, and through the Christians there sought the aid of the Portuguese. Soon after they landed with a mixed force of Portuguese and Indians at Trincomalee, but were compelled to withdraw. This prince of Trincomalee later became a Christian, and was given the baptismal name of Alfonso. He then remained at Goa. At one time it was the plan of the Portuguese authorities to make Alfonso king of Jaffna, when they succeeded in overthrowing Segarajasekaran.

Vidiya Bandara

In the closing years of the reign of Sangily, Vidiya Bandara driven by the Portuguese and thence by Rajasinha took refuge in Jaffna. This prince according to Valentyn* was the son of a Jaffna prince, but according to the Rajavaliya, he was the son of a Soli (Chola) prince. His mother was the daughter of Taniyawalla, king of Madampe. He had a brother named Tamatey Sambara Perumal, who is described in the Rajavaliya as Tammita Suriya Bandara Senadipati.† This brother was the grand Chamberlain under Bhuvaneka Bahu VII. Vidiya married the daughter of Bhuvaneka Bahu VII, king of Kotte and

* Valentyn, History of the Indies: "Vidiya Bandara Raja, the father of Dharmapala whom the Portuguese raised to the throne of Kotte in 1542 A. C. was the grandson of Taniam Vallabha, king of Madampe and brother of Bhuvaneka Bahu VII by one of the kings of Jaffna." Simon Casie Chetty, History of Jaffna from the Earliest Period.

† Rebeiro Ceilao, Sir Paul E. Pieris: Page 25.

was the father of Dharmapala, the last king of Kotte.

When the aged king Bhuvaneka Bahu was killed, Dharmapala came to the throne of Kotte and Vidiya Bandara continued to hold his post as the head of the army. Soon after, he fell out with the Portuguese, and was imprisoned by them. His wife succeeded in releasing him through a subterranean tunnel, and henceforth he became a bitter enemy of the Portuguese.

For some time he was busy destroying churches along the southern coasts. Later he allied himself with Mayadunne whose daughter he took as his second wife. Soon he fell out with his second father-in-law, and took refuge in the hill country, where after killing his host, he usurped his principality. After many such adventures and hazards, he was forced to flee to Jaffna.

Sangily was greatly pleased at the arrival of Vidiya Bandara to Jaffna, for he was a great general and an enemy of the Portuguese. The king also thought that under the military leadership of Vidiya the Jaffna armies would succeed in curbing the pride and ambitious schemes of the Portuguese. An agreement was soon made between them, and to ensure their fidelity to each other the two leaders agreed to take a solemn oath at the Veerakali Amman temple at Nallur. After the two had assembled with their respective retinue at the temple premises, accidentaly there was an explosion in one of the adjoining ammunition stores, and Vidiya Bandara suspecting some foul play drew out his sword.

In the commotion that followed, the Sinhalese leader and his followers were killed. The tooth relic, which was in his possession and all his wealth consisting of gold and other treasures, fell into the hands of the king.

Sangily very much regretted this incident and feared a political crisis in external affairs. (Some are of opinion that Sangily erected the Poothararyar temple at Nallur as an expiation in the memory of Vidiya Bandara). When the Portuguese heard of his death, they were very pleased at the favourable turn of events.

Invasion of Jaffna

By 1558, when Dom Constantino de Braganca became the viceroy at Goa, the Portuguese authorities thought that the time was then opportune to organize the long delayed invasion of Jaffna. In the following year the viceroy made preparations for the expedition. In August 1560, he set sail with a fleet of twelve galleys, ten galliots, and seventy rowing boats and reached Cochin. From there he sent word to the inhabitants of St. Thome advising them to settle in Jafnapatao, rather than be exposed to the oppression of the Canarese. The Bishop of Cochin also accompanied the expedition. When they had cast anchor off Jafnapatao, they spent two days discussing plans of their campaign of conquest. The king had fortified the 'Quay of the Elephants' * with artillery, and as another quay

* Probably the quay at Kayts from where elephants were shipped to India.

further off was less protected, they chose the latter for landing their troops which in all amounted to one thousand two hundred. An altar was erected on an islet, and mass was celebrated there with great devotion.

About 3 p. m. on an afternoon the troops landed headed by a priest bearing a crucifix attached to a spear. The crown prince with a shining shield led two thousand of his troops, and soon they had an encounter. Being overpowered by the firing of the enemy, the Jaffna troops retreated. The Portuguese advanced amidst a hail of bullets, arrows, and balls along the broad road that led to the city. A lieutenant and several of the enemy fell. Later the viceroy riding on a charger took charge of the troops. The fight continued till sunset, and the king retired to the palace at Nallur for defending it. The enemy spent the night under arms, and fortified the place where they had taken their stand.

The viceroy expected the Tamils would defend the fort the next day, but the king and his forces retreated that night itself to Kopay, where there was also a garrison. Before leaving, the king removed all his valuables and set fire to the palace. The Portuguese that night plundered the valuables in the temple, and removed the supposed tooth relic of the Buddha, left by Vidiya Bandara. When the viceroy and his army advanced to Kopay, they found that the king and his forces had left it to an unknown destination. About four hundred men were sent in pursuit, and some Sangily's men agreeing to act as guides

deliberately led the pursuers along a wrong track to enable the king to escape. For three days the pursuers were misled between Kopay and Elephant Pass. At last the enemy crossed the sea to the mainland, and there wandered for five days. On one occasion they sighted the king's party, but failed to reach them.

In the meanwhile the Portuguese forces were running short of provisions. The wounded and the sick were in the forts at Kopay and at Nallur. Sangily by his delaying tactics had dispersed the enemy. Both sides desired peace, and negotiations were opened and hostilities ceased. For fifteen days the terms of the treaty were discussed, and finally the parties came to an agreement.*

The clauses of the treaty were that Sangily was to become a fief of Portugual, that he should pay tribute to the king of Portugual, give permission to preach the gospel in his territories, hand over the treasures of Vidiya and as a mark of the king's good intentions, the son of Sangily should be handed over as a hostage for the fulfilment of the terms.

Tamils Retaliate

Meanwhile the priests, who accompanied the expedition, went about the country converting the people. Some Portuguese officers went about destroying the temples. The king, seeing how

* The emissaries of the king, according to Portuguese records, were Visiale Mudaliyar and his son-in-law Vacu Arachchi.

small the Portuguese forces were planned to attack them unawares. Every detail of the rising was so arranged, that on a fixed day, at a particular hour the people should simultaneously attack the Portuguese. In the meantime some men were cunningly introduced into the Portuguese camp to entice the viceroy for a hunting expedition to the eastern part of the peninsula.

The viceroy believed the conspirator's story of the presence of stags near about Elephant Pass, and left for the chase. In his absence the people rose as one man, and killed the Portuguese stragglers wherever they found them. Many Catholic priests, who tried to convert the people, were also put to the sword. The Bishop of Cochin narrowly escaped to the ship. Those, who became Christians or those who showed sympathy to the Portuguese, were all killed.

The armed Tamils fell upon the forts at Kopay and Nallur, and inflicted heavy losses upon the enemy. Later they were forced to retreat to their ships carrying their wounded and the sick. From the forts they carried away as many valuables as they could. The imperial throne of the kings, being heavy and cumbersome, was not portable, and hence they took away its upper part—a canopy of pearls. The enemy could not recover the treasures of Vidiya Bandara, but took away the supposed tooth relic of the Buddha. Earlier before the rising the prince, who was surrendered as a hostage and

two others, the chief minister Eleagora* and Mudaliyar Oriculnar*, were put on board and the Jaffna forces were not able to liberate them.

Capture of Mannar 1561.

At this time the viceroy who was at Elephant Pass escaped to his ships. Then he sailed with a remnant of his force to Mannar, and built a fort † there to conceal his humiliation at the hands of Sangily. In Mannar, Mahata, a chieftain of Mantota, gave a strong resistance with three thousand men. He was soon overcome on account of the superior weapons of the enemy. Then Braganza having fortified the garrison, brought over and settled a colony of Christians from the Indian shores, at Mannar, before he returned to India. Just at this time there was internal trouble in Jaffna, and Sangily could not attend to the adverse events at Mannar.

The prince of Jaffna who was taken to Goa as a captive embraced the Catholic faith, and there died in 1571 six years after the death of his father.

Sangily by his brilliant strategy had overthrown the Portuguese yoke, and preserved the inde-

* As found in the Portuguese records.

† Yalpana Vaipava Vimarsanam says that the fort was built with the stones from Tirukketiswaram According to Visuvanatha Sastriyar Sambavakkurippu the sea engulfed the temple premises in 1540, and caused damage to the buildings. The same source records that the Pujas in the temple continued till 1589. Probably for the building of the fort in 1561 the Portuguese must have removed the stones from the partly damaged temple.

pendence of his kingdom. Although he had surrendered his son as a hostage to the enemy, this did not deter him from reopening hostilities. In fact he priced the independence of his kingdom, and the honour of his people greater than the life of his son. Jaffna owes a deep debt of gratitude to this indomitable monarch for having retained his kingdom for nearly forty five years during the most critical period of her history, in spite of the most rapacious and bigoted of her enemies.

While the stout-hearted Mayadunne and his valiant son Rajasinha kept up the fight against the Portuguese in the south, the kings who ruled Jaffna in the sixteenth century, performed a singular service to the Island by keeping the enemy always engaged in a second front.

First and Second attacks on Mannar

When Braganza left Mannar to Goa, the aged king took the opportunity of attacking the fort in the island. Though he inflicted great losses on the enemy, he did not succeed in taking it. In 1563 the Tamils under Ramal tried a second time to capture it.

Puviraja Pandaram Pararajasekaran 1561 - 1565 (16)

By now Sangily was growing unpopular. The wars of the Portuguese had upset his country's economy There was great discontent in the land. He, therefore, handed the administration to his son Puvirajah Pandaram I who ruled on his behalf. About 1565, the aged king died,

and there was great confusion in the court. Cunchi Nayinar or Casie Nayinar seized the kingship.

Cunchi Nayinar 1565 - 1570 (17)

As the rightful heir to the throne was deprived of his kingdom, the people were growing restive. The leaders in the country could not find a solution, and therefore they appealed to Jorge de Melo de Castro, the captain of Mannar, for intervention. The Portuguese authorities soon seized this opportunity of exercising their influence, and sent the captain of Mannar to Jaffna. After holding an inquiry, he imprisoned Cunchi Nayinar, and put a quisling prince on the throne. The name of this prince is not known.

Very soon after the captain left for Mannar, the supporters of Cunchi Nayinar assassinated the quisling and released Cunchi Nayinar who later began to rule the country with firmness and authority. The captain became indignant at this insult to his authority and conspired to kill the usurper by poisoning. When this plan was executed by one of the attendants of the usurper, the captain hastened to Jaffna, and in accordance with the wishes of the people made Periya Pillai the king of Jaffna.

Periya Pillai Segarajasekaran 1570 - 1582 (18)

Nothing is known of Periya Pillai's ancestry or his connections with the royal line, but we do know that he was the father of Ethirmannasinga Pararajasegaran (1591—1615). According

to Queiroz this king with the help the Naik ruler of Tanjore made preparations on a large scale to capture Mannar. This third military expedition against Mannar like the previous ones also proved unsuccessful.

Puviraja Pandaram II 1582-1591 (19)

After the rule of Periya Pillai, Puviraja Pandaram, a prince of the royal house of Jaffna, ascended the throne in 1582. The Portuguese authorities did not recognize the king, as they had no hand in his appointment. This king went under the nick name of 'Rei Torto' (Portuguese for hunch back) and in Tamil 'Kunan'

Dona Catherina

In the reign of Puviraja Pandaram, Karalliyadde Bandara, king of Udarata ousted by Rajasinha I took refuge along with his queen in Trincomalee. While they were there, they had an attack of small-pox and both succumbed to the disease. Before the ex-king died, he entrusted his daughter Dona Catherina to his nephew Yamasinha and requested him to bring her up and take her as his wife. Yamasinha, after taking her to Jaffna, left her under the guardianship of Puviraja Pandaram. Later she was sent to Mannar where she was under the protection of the Portuguese.

Fourth attack on Mannar 1590.

Ever from the time Mannar became a Portuguese stronghold, it was the ambition of the Jaffna kings to recapture the island. Puviraja

Pandaram made stupendous preparations for three long years, and mustered ten thousand men to lay siege and capture the fort. Though much loss was inflicted on the enemy, the king's forces suffered greater losses and the attack proved abortive.

Fifth attack on Mannar 1591

Then for a second time Puviraja made preparations to attack the fort. He entered into an agreement with a South Indian Muslim chieftain named Cutimuza and secured his services as his ally. When Cutimuza's forces left Calicut on their way to Jaffna, the Portuguese came to know of it, and immediately despatched a fleet in August 1591, under the command of Andre Furtado de Mendoca with the object of punishing and curbing the pride of the 'king of kings.'*

Cutimuza's Misadventure

Before the arrival of Cutimuza's forces, the king had started the siege of the fort in Mannar, and tried his best to capture it. At one time he planned to storm the garrison by night, but the enemy came to know of this and foretalled it.

In the meantime the Portuguese fleet came across Cutimuza and his fleet at the entrance to the Bay of Karaitivu (between Puttalam and Mannar). Both sides fought with desperate

* According to Portuguese historians the Jaffna kings styled themselves 'king of kings'. In the sixteenth century Puvirajah Pandaram probably styled himself as Chakravarti.

valour, and many ships of the allies fell into the hands of the Portuguese. Furtado then sailed towards Mannar, where he met another squadron of the fleet of the allies. Many of the ships were destroyed, and those that remained were captured. Only a few men succeeded in saving themselves by swimming to the shore where a section of the king's forces were posted. As all the king's ships were lost, he could not transport his men and materials to Jaffna. Thus ended the fifth expedition against Mannar

Second Portuguese Invasion of Jaffna 1591

The fact that the king of Jaffna was assisting the king of Kandy, and in consequence great loss was inflicted on the Portuguese, and on all those who followed the religion of Christ was one of the causes for the invasion of Jaffna.

On the 26th October 1591, the invasion of Jaffna began with 1400 Portuguese and 3000 lascarins. The king had prepared a defence at Arialai hoping the enemy's forces would land there, but they landed at Colombuturai. Soon there was an encounter with the Tamil forces, and about two hundred and fifty Tamils were slain. Then the troops landed under cover of the ships' cannons. Thereafter the enemy's forces rested for the night and prepared for the next day's attack on the capital.

On the 28th of October, with the blessings of the priests, the Portuguese troops marched towards Nallur. From 10 O'clock in the morning the battle raged, and the streets were strewn with corpses. It was a bloody struggle. Gago,



Ethirmannasingam (1591 - 1616) son of Periya Pillai is about to be slain by a Portuguese soldier.

the Tamil commander, a nephew of the king, entreated the king to leave the town for a place of safety, but the king refused to do so. While the enemy with superior weapons hotly pressed, the gallant forces of Jaffna stood their ground and bravely defended their lines. Before the enemy's forces reached Veerakali Amman Temple, the Tamil commander was killed. Subsequently the suicide squad of the king, the heroic band of armed guards, the cream of the army, took up the field between the Amman temple and Kandaswamy temple.* They all met their ends fighting for the causes which they held dear. With them were killed their leader a 'Yogi' and the priest of the temple

Ethirmannasingam, the son of Periya Pillai, while he was about to be slain by a soldier, was saved by Simao Pinnao, a captain - major who placing his foot on the fallen prince prevented him from being slain. Then the captain placed his own helmet on his head and put on his neck a golden chain, and ordered him to be treated with all respect. This incident is now found sculptured on a slab in the Sabragamuwa Maha Saman Devale.

The Death of the King

Some historians record that Puviraja Pandaram was captured, while he was in a temple, and beheaded in the presence of the Portuguese com-

* The site of the old Kandaswamy temple was quarter of a mile east of the present one. It was destroyed by the Portuguese in 1620.

mander. But Rebeiro the Portuguese historian says: "Our advance was so rapid that the king felt our arms on his own person, before he knew the defeat of his men, indeed, it might almost be said that he lost his life without knowing it. With him was slain his eldest son." Thus ended the story of a soldier king, who never allowed his Portuguese enemies to rest. Like Mayadunne and his illustrious son Rajasinha, Puviraja Pandaram carried on a relentless war for the independence of his native country.

The rapacious enemy went about plundering and robbing the inhabitants of their valuables. The temples were stripped of their belongings, and all valuables were removed as spoils of victory. The commander Furtado also seems to have got a good share of the booty.

The following members of the royal family were taken as prisoners of war: the queen, another consort of the king, five children of the king, the wife of Gago, two princesses, Sangily Kumara and his twin brother, and two sons of Cunchi Nayinar.

Nallur Convention 1592

Soon after, the commander summoned the leaders of the land to a convention. He then asked the assembled chiefs to accept the suzerainty of the king of Portugal, and promised to maintain the laws and customs of the country. This being accepted, Ethirmannasingam, the son of Periya Pillai, was invested with the crown of Jaffna, and took the name of Pararajasekaran.

Ethirmanna Singa Pararajasekaran 1591 - 1615 (20)

For the protection of the king, a hundred Portuguese troops and three hundred lascarins were stationed in a garrison adjoining the palace. Many remnants of the old army, who were supposed to be turbulent, were seized and beheaded. Furtado after bringing peace and order in the country sailed for Goa.

But this royal race, like the Basques of Spain, and the Scots of the British Isles, was not to be subjugated easily. They loved their independence and liberty more than anything else. At this time many of the leaders felt the army of occupation was a great insult and dishonour to them. The people also found the king was weak and vacillating in his policy. They did not accept his allegiance to a foreign government and his friendly attitude towards the Catholic Church. Further they did not like Portuguese officers in the country misbehaving themselves, taking advantage of the weakness of the sovereign. Hence, they conspired about the end of 1592 to replace king Pararajasekaran on the throne by a prince of Rameswaram. The ruler of Tanjore and Vimala Dharma Suriya I of Kandy also supported the move.

Tanjore Aid (2)

A force of Vadagars and Malawars were collected in Tanjore in support of the conspirators. The captain of Mannar, on learning of this plot, soon despatched a small force to Jaffna for the protection of the realm and also request-

ed the king to take shelter. In the meantime the expected force was seen sailing towards Talai Mannar. The Portuguese forces encountered them and defeated them. The prince, his wife, and four hundred of his followers were taken as prisoners. After these untoward incidents the people bore Pararajasekaran's rule in patience.

Portuguese Suspicions

About 1595, the title of the king was recognized by Philip of Spain, nevertheless there were suspicions of Pararajasekaran's dealings with the king of Kandy. Complaints were also made to the Captain of Mannar regarding the influx of Yogis from India, for they were suspected to be soldiers in disguise. When the captain had an interview with the king, he was received respectfully. In his talks, the king affirmed his loyalty to Portugal He spoke of his father's warning: "My son never make war with the Portuguese for they will consume you and you will lose your subjects without any benefit. Teach yourself to be patient, for no one has more need of it than a king He who has not learnt to forbear has not learnt to rule." Later to assure the Portuguese of his good intentions, the king caused three hundred 'yogis' who were on their route to Adam's Peak to be arrested at Karaitivu and had them deported.

In 1607 he was suspected of hostile intentions against Mannar and of persecuting his Christian subjects. He was also supposed to be giving assistance to the Sinhalese by collecting

mercenaries for them in the Coromandel coasts. All these suspicions were baseless, for the king was grateful to the Portuguese for the preservation of his life and the restoration of his state, and always remained loyal to them to the end of his reign.

King Pararajasegaran like Dharmapala of Kotte had to stand the insolence and cupidity of Portuguese officers who tried to squeeze out money from their puppet kings under various pretexts. The viceroys at Goa were unable to check. At last the king represented matters to higher authorities, and de Azavedo had to issue orders forbidding all meddling with the internal administration of the king's country.

Madapallis

According to the Vaipava Malai, the descendants of the last kings of Jaffna were called Madapallis. This was a title created by Sangily (Senior) to appease the disappointed heirs to the throne. Madapalli was a country in Kalinga, and as it was the original home of the royal house of Jaffna, their near relatives were also called Madapallis. When the Jaffna royal house increased in numbers, the Raja and Kumara Madapallis also increased.* During the reign of Ethirmannasinga Pararajasekaran, seven members of the Madapallis were made chieftains of seven districts of

* "வெற்றி விடைக் கொடியாம் சேனாபதி குலத்தி
னுற்ற மடப்படியினுள் ளோருட்"—*Kilai Vidu Tuthu.*

The Madapallis who belong to the high Arya Kula and who are entitled to the flag of the victorious bull.

Jaffna.† Those belonging to the Madapalli class, but who were not connected with the royal house were termed as 'Sangu Madapallis'. During the Portuguese period, those who bought titular ranks were termed as 'Charuku Madapalli s. In the succeeding centuries there was great rivalry between the Madapallis and the Vellalas.

Kailaya Malai

In this reign the 'Kailaya Malai', one of the chronicles of Jaffna, seems to have been written by a South Indian named Mutturasar. Mention has been made about this work in the previous chapters.

Pararajasekaran died leaving an infant son of three years. Arasakesari, a cousin of the late king (a brother according to Tamil relationship) was appointed regent on his death bed, and he continued the policy of the late king.

Palace Assassinations 1616

Sangily Kumara who was dissatisfied with the arrangements soon began to conspire and a conspiracy was set on foot. When this news was reported to Arasakesari the regent, he discredited it. A few days afterwards in broad day light the

† 1. Alakanmai Valla Mudali Division Nallur
2. Thidaveerasinga Mudali ,, Achchuvely
3. Thanapalasinga Mudali ,, Mallakam
4. Vettivelautha Mudali ,, Sandirupay
5. Vijayatheivendra Mudali ,, Araly
6. Santhirasegara Mapana Mudali ,, Udupiddy
7. Rajaretna Mudali ,, Kachchai

mischief-makers, having entered the palace unnoticed, succeeded in killing Arasakesari, Periya Megapulle Arachchi, and the rest of the members of the royal family. Only Luku Kumaru, the late king's brother-in-law was spared.

These cold-blooded murders exasperated the people. Under these circumstances the people desired to put Luku Kumaru in place of Sangily Kumara for the post of regency. The enraged masses headed by the stout-hearted Sinna Megapulle, son of the late Periya Megapulle, surrounded the palace, and their leader challenged the treacherous Sangily Kumara to come out in the open and fight out his claim. Thereafter Sinna Megapulle, followed by some of the princesses, escaped to Mannar, where he became a Christian. As he could not gain the help of the Portuguese, he left for India with the princesses.

At this time Andayana Amarakon, a cruel opportunist, went to the side of Sangily and became one of his chief advisers. On his advice Luku Kumaru's eyes were blinded. Once Sangily invited some Mudaliyars to dinner, and treacherously caused them to be slaughtered.

Inquiry

In the midst of this turmoil, the Viceroy's confirmation of the regency also arrived. The captain of Mannar, therefore sent his secretary to Jaffna for a general inquiry in the name of the king of Portugual. A council of Mudaliyars was summoned and the secretary asked Sangily whether he had any will of the late king, failing which he told him that he would be treated as

a rebel. There being no will, the secretary left for Mannar, leaving Sangily Kumara to carry on the administration.

At this time Nikapitiya, a Sinhalese who had revolted against the Portuguese, was defeated and pursued by them. He was trying to escape to India through the Jaffna territories, but was checked by Sangily Kumara. For which good turn he won the estimation of the Portuguese, and they soon accepted him as the Governor of Jaffna.

The Portuguese authorities did not want to disturb the country with fresh hostilities but allowed the affairs of Jaffna to take their own course.

Insurrection 1618.

One day an armed crowd thronged round the palace, and asked Sangily to hand over the assassins of the princes, to deliver over to them their king (Ethirmannasingam's son), and to turn out of the palace the dancing woman with whom he was living, and marry one of the queens of the late king. Sangily then took up the infant king in his arms, and showed him to the crowd through a window. The great crowd outside on seeing their king made obeisance to him. As some of the assassins had made good their escape, the crowd was growing restless, but Amarakon Mudaliyar who was responsible for many of the atrocities was seized by the mob, and with a cord round his neck was mercilessly dragged round the city, till he met his end.

Tanjore Aid 3

There was no hope for peace in Jaffna, for the embittered Mudaliyars together with the militant Careas besieged the palace, and Sangily had to take refuge in the church at Urkavalturai. In the meantime in response to the appeal he made to the ruler of Tanjore, a force of Vadagars under Varuna Gulata, the chief of the Careas, soon arrived and with their assistance Sangily crushed the insurrection, and thereafter governed the country with full power and authority.

Portuguese Occupation 1618.

The Portuguese authorities looked upon with disfavour the alliance of Sangily with the ruler of Tanjore. They suspected that he was trying to shake off the Portuguese yoke. They did not like his dealings with the Dutch, moreover there was a rumour that he was urging Senerat to break with the Portuguese. In addition to these ill-feelings Sangily Kumara had withheld the annual payment of tribute. Constantine de Sa, the Captain-General of Colombo, therefore, despatched by land three divisions of Portuguese and 3000 lascarins under Philip de Oliveira, and appointed him Captain-Major of the land forces. This expeditionary force suffered terribly, while traversing the waterless country of the north-western coasts, and arrived at Punarin. Having no boats to cross over, he wrote a note to Sangily whereupon he sent him some vessels. It took de Oliveira eight days to ferry the whole army to the Jaffna peninsula. Then he went to Kayts and resided there.

The Captain-Major then demanded from Sangily Kumara full payment of all arrears of tribute. Sangily expressed his willingness to settle all dues and wanted some time. As his first instalment he promised to pay 5000 pardaos on Oliveira's reaching Punarin. Before now Philip de Oliveira had secret instructions that if Sangily proved recalcitrant, he was to be placed under arrest, and in case he showed any resistance, he was to be put to death.

When Oliveira advanced with his troops to Nallur, there was an encounter at Vannarponnai. The chief of the Careas together with Sangily's forces engaged the Portuguese soldiers in the fields adjoining Vannarponnai. The fields were strewn with thorns, and as the Portuguese soldiers were barefooted, they could not press their attacks on the Tamils. The next day the Tamils retreated to some other part of the country and the enemy returned to the city.

By this time Sangily Kumara had fled by sea and was driven by adverse winds to Parittiturai. From there he and his family sailed the next day, but when the Portuguese received intelligence of his flight, they sent some 'Manchuas' soon in pursuit. The pursuers were able to overtake him and seize his vessels. They robbed his earrings of the blind Luku Kumaru by cutting off his ears. On seeing this, Sangily Kumara gave up his own. They also seized 8000 patacas in cash. The whole party consisting of the wives and children of Luku Kumaru and Sangily Kumara together with their attendants were all brought to Jafanapato.

On their arrival de Oliveira asked the governor to supply him with a list of officials with whom he had dealings. His long list included the captain and the general and many other high officials.

Afterwards Sangily Kumara and his wife were despatched to Colombo, and from there they were transported to Goa. While in prison they were baptized in the presence of the great dignitaries of the Catholic Church.

In the time of Fernas de Alboquerque (1619—1622), Viceroy of Goa, Sangily Kumara was brought to trial and condemned to be beheaded. When the sentence of his death was read to him, he received it with great calmness and fortitude. The Portuguese authorities planned to carry out his execution in a mannar befitting his rank, for which purpose they made elaborate preparations. The gallows in the centre of the esplanade were draped with black curtains; the platform was laid out with neat carpets; and all arrangements at this site were so designed as to give a solemn mournful look.

When the fateful hour arrived, Sangily Kumara the last of the Aryas accompanied by Francisian friars, walked solemnly with measured steps to the gallows. Just before his death he flatly refused to allow his hands to be tied and bowed meekly his head to the executioner. With him ends the story of the Arya Vamsa that held sway over the northern part of the Island for several centuries.

On 18th June 1623 the members of the Jaffna royal family were baptized in Colombo with great pomp and ceremony. The young king was baptized by the name of Dom Constantino and his mother received the name of Dona Clara. His two sisters received the names of Dona Isabel and Dona Maria; the brother-in-law of the late king whom Sangily Kumara had blinded was named Dom Diogo; his wife, the sister of Ethirmannasinga Pararajasekaran, was named Dona Maria; their three sons Dom Philip, Dom Francisco and Dom Bernardino and their daughter Dona Ines. Most of the members of the Jaffna royal family spent the rest of their days in Goa.

THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

The Revolt of the Chief of the Careas

Though the country seemed submitted there was great discontent among the people against foreign domination. The powerful chief of the Careas landed with a great band of fighters from Tanjore and attacked the Church of Our Lady, for at that time big churches served also as garrisons. There was stiff resistance from inside. The next day the Tamils then turned their attention on a temple which served as the headquarters of de Oliveira. The continuous fire of the Portuguese soldiers kept the Tamils at a distance. Then when Oliveira ordered the gates to be flung open, the Tamils rushed in to meet the defenders, and the Portuguese from their shelter inside were able to inflict heavy losses upon

the Tamils. After further fighting the chief and his men withdrew.

Maninhas

Soon the Jaffna people sent a Mudaliyar, known among the Portuguese as das Maninhas (Viceroy) to India to bring down a prince for the vacant throne. The prince and his brave fighters consisting of 800 Maravars and Vadagars landed at Elur and marched towards Nallur. They camped at a temple in the neighbourhood of the city. The Portuguese, who kept a watch of the movements of the enemy, on an early down attacked the temple and burnt down its gates. When the attackers rushed in the defenders fought bravely to the last man. The prince and a Brahman were the only surviving members of this heroic band of men. Thus ended the second revolt of the Tamils.

Sinna Megapulle

While these events were taking place in Jaffna, Sinna Megapulle Arachchi known as Dom Luiz was collecting an expeditionary force in the Tanjore District. This band of fighters landed at Tondaimanaru and marched towards Nallur. There was considerable tension in the country. The city became isolated, and the Portuguese government of Colombo sent a body of troops under Antonio da Mota Galvao. There were daily skirmishes and one day the Tamils almost succeeded in burning down one of the garrisons of the Portuguese. Later a body of troops were despatched from Colombo under Teixeira to the assistance of Oliveira. Another auxiliary force

was sent by sea under Andre Coelho. Great atrocities marked the route of Teixeira to Jaffna. On his orders 'men were hacked into two with axes like trees, the breasts of women were torn off, the wombs of mothers were slit open and the infants they carried in their arms forced within.' Such were the hideous brutalities committed by these ruthless, blood-thirsty foes.

De Oliveira, after receiving reinforcements, began to take the offensive, and tried to suppress the uprising with great barbarity. Soon after, affairs in Jaffna quieted down and Teixeira returned to Colombo. Da Mota also went with him taking the unfortunate prince as captive.

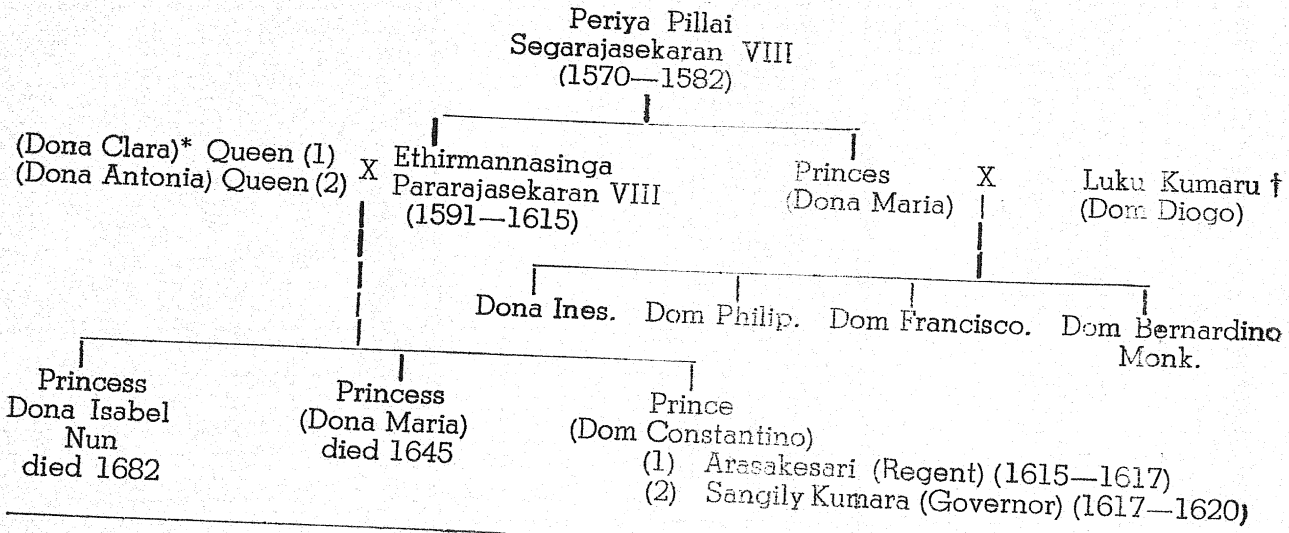
Again in November 1620, Sinna Megapulle came back with new forces and landed at Thondamanaru and encamped near a tank. Chem Nayque, the chief of the Careas, also accompanied him. De Oliveira sent Megapulle a satiric message requesting him to come to Nallur where he would be better accommodated. He replied by 'ola' that he anxiously awaited the pleasure of meeting a distinguished warrior. The next day Oliveira sent word that he was waiting for them. Megapulle replied that they were at their baths and that they would be present as soon as they had had their meal. The Portuguese waited till midday and withdrew, leaving an 'ola' leaf message that they were feeble coolies.

Thereafter the Portuguese returned to the town, and when they were at their dinner, the coming of the Tamils were announced. The lascarins began to retreat at the pressure of the

Tamils, and the Portuguese were driven into the sea. There was a good deal of fighting and Oliveira was seriously wounded. The position of the Portuguese became very precarious. While their women were praying in the church for God's intervention, the entire Portuguese army fought back to their headquarters. On the following day there were a few skirmishes at Nallur, and the enemy soon regained his position. Reinforcements soon arrived from Colombo, and de Oliveira transferred his headquarters to Nallur. Fresh reinforcements were also sent from Tanjore, but all the efforts of the Tamils proved abortive and the enemy once more became the master of the country. Oliveira ordered the Nallur Kandaswamy temple to be razed to the ground. The destruction of the temple marks the end of an epoch in the history of the Tamils, and the beginning of a new one.

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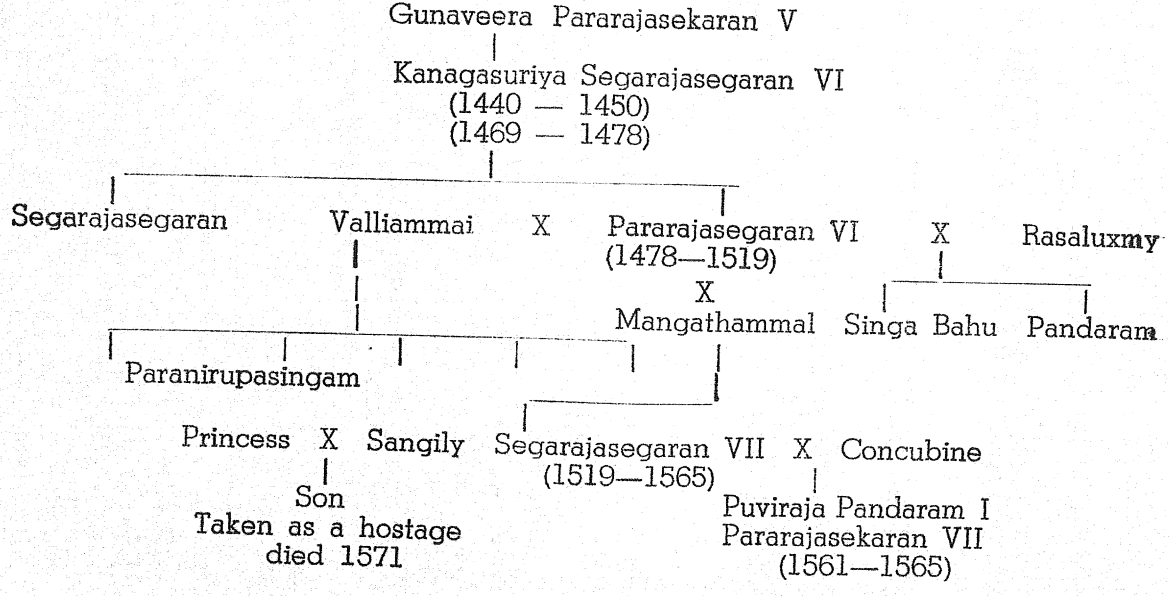
THE LAST OF THE ARYA KINGS OF JAFFNA



† Two sons of Luku Kumaru became monks.

* Mother of the last king of Jaffna.

ARYA KINGS OF JAFFNA 15th & 16th CENTURIES



CHAPTER X

THE JAFFNA KINGDOM

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

IN this chapter we shall try to sketch the social and economic conditions that existed in the Jaffna kingdom preceding the foreign conquest of the country by the Portuguese. We shall deal here with a few selected topics.

Extension of the Jaffna Kingdom

The Tamils mainly inhabited the Northern and Eastern Provinces and the district of Puttalam. The kingdom of Jaffna consisted of the four divisions of Valigamam, Tenmarachchi, Vadamarachchi, and Pachchilapali; the eight inhabited islands of Karaitivu, Urkavalturai Punkudutivu, Neduntivu, Neinativu, Analaitivu and the twin islands of Iranaitivu and five uninhabited islands. On the mainland was the extensive territory of the Vanniyas. This stretched from Trincomalee on the East to Mannar on the West and consisted of Tennamaravadi, Mulliyavalai, Karunaval Pattu, Panankamam, Perunkali Pattu, and Musali Pattu which included lands as far as Kudiramalai and a portion of Chettikulam.

Referring to the Tamils in the Eastern Province it is good to note what a Dutch Governor Rjklof Van Goens wrote in October 1675 "And since all the inhabitants of Batticaloa (both in

customs, religion, origin and other characteristics) together with those of Jaffnapatnam, Cotjaar (Kottiyar) and on westward right over to Calpentyn) (Kalpitiya) and the northern portion of Mangul Corle inclusive, have been from the remotest times and are still now Malabars, divided into their tribes, and very unwillingly mix with the Cingaleese, Weddas or others outside their tribes as also the others are not willing to do with these, they are up till now to be considered no otherwise than that they form with those of Jaffnapatnam, Cotjaar etc a people separate from the Cingaleese and have up till now remained pretty well in their freedom*."

Population

No estimate of the Tamil population was taken by the Tamil kings, although they had a record of their lands. The Jaffna kingdom had the advantage of great ports and ships from all parts of Southern Asia touched her ports. Arabs had trade relations with Matota from very early times, and they made a settlement in Mannar. The first Muslim settlements in the Jaffna peninsula were at Mirusuvil and at Usan. There was a Javanese settlement at Chavakachcheri. The Javanese were supposed to have been brought as prisoners of war, when Yapahu was taken by Arya Chakravarti.† There was also a large number of Sinhalese inhabitants who had come to Jaffna for fishing. The census of the population of the Jaffna District in the middle of the seven-

* R. A. S. Vol. XXXI No. 82 Page 368.

† Ancient Jaffna by Mr. C. Rasanayaga Mudaliyar.

teenth century (1658), when the Dutch took over the Tamil territories was about 120,000. Whereas in 1901 the population of the District was 300,851, The bulk of the population was always and everywhere in the Tamil country Hindus divided into various castes. In the early centuries of the Christian era, as a section of the Tamils in South India were Buddhists, we are led to belief on the strength of Buddhists remains in the Tamil areas that Tamils in Ceylon also once embraced Buddhism.

Sovereign

The head of the state was the king. The idea of the sovereign as the parent of his people is the basis of Tamil politics. The sovereign can seek no salvation for himself individually, but can obtain it by the faithful discharge of his duty to the highest power, and to his subjects and to all around him. The three great virtues of Tamil kings were heroism, justice, and charity. Three kinds of drums were sounded indicative of the three different phases of royal activity; the war-drum (vira-murasu), the justice-drum (neethi-murasu), and the gift-drum (kodai-murasu). Such practices were followed by Kumanan of Kudirai-malai, Sri Sanga Bodhi,* an illustrious Lanbakanna sovereign, and Elala, the Just.

* One of the Tamil inscriptions found in Anuradhapura relating to Sri Sanga Bodhi (307 - 309 A. C.)

போதி நிழல மர்ந்த புணர்யனைபோல் எவ்வுயிர்க்கும்
தீதில் அருள்சுரக்கும் சிந்தையான்—ஆதி
வருதன்மம் குன்றுத மாதவன மாக்கோதை
ஒருதன்மை பாலனுளன்.

Ilankai Inpa Tamil Page 81.

Palace

The king always lived in his capital except in times of war. His palace always had a large establishment. The relatives of the king were the employees in the palace. Doluvaras * were the bodyguards of the king. The apartments of the queen were accessible only to maidens of noble birth.

The Court

For the dispensation of justice the king made his appearance every day in open durbar. † He had able ministers ‡ to help him in administering the country efficiently to the satisfaction of his people. The bard of the court or the poet laureate was always present at court and his counsels in times of crisis had profound effect.

* R. A. S. XXVI. 70. and Rajavaliya (B. Gun) page 59.

† 'மன்று கண்டருளுங் சங்கை யாரியன் விடையின்வானி.'

The bull flag of the Aryan of the Ganga Vamsa who dispenses justice in his audience hall. —*Raguvamsam.*

‡ A. Mootootamby Pillay, 'Jaffna History' Page 27. Gunapooshana Singai Aryan had a minister by the name Addiarkunallar. He caused many tanks to be constructed in various parts of the country He erected a 'madam' for the enshrinement of the sixty three Saivite saints (Nayanmars). The ancient site of this building is to-day known as Nayanmanar-Kaddu. A tank was built by him and named after the king—Aryarkulam. His name is associated to-day with another tank, Addiarkunallan Kulam or Kannathiddi Kulam.

The court was not wanting in jesters who entertained the members of the court.*

Royalty

The Jaffna king always had good education in Tamil and in the classics. The Segarajasegaran's astrological work says in one of its verses: "Like unto the sacred thread worn on the breast of Segarajasekaran learned in the three kinds of Tamil" (classic, lyric, and dramatic).† Princes were sent to South India for their education and there seems to have been a school for princes near Madura. Pararajasekaran (157c—1619) and his brother Segarajasekaran had their early education in South India.

The princess were also educated and had a retinue of women attendants. These attendants were skilful artists who amused the king and courtiers with music and dancing. The Jaffna princesses were so lovely and cultured that

* A. Mootootamby Pillay 'Jaffna History' Page 40. The custom of giving cash presents on or after the New Year Day to the members of one's family or subordinates is only peculiar to Jaffna, and is not prevalent in South India. A court jester of Gunaveera Singai Aryan named Tiruvampalam entertained the king on a New Year Day by putting on an extra false hand. Being pleased at his fun, the king gave him a cash present. It was known as 'Kaiveshasam' (extra hand) and ever afterwards it became a custom in Jaffna to give such cash presents on a New Year Day to the members of one's family and subordinates.

† "முத்தமிழ் தேர் செகராச சேகர மன்றிரு
மார்பின் முன் நூலென்ன". —*Sega Astrology.*

Senerat, king of Kandy got two of his sons married to two Jaffna princesses.*

Foreign travellers have given detailed descriptions of the Arya Chakravartis of Jaffna. The king's crown was conical in shape and set with valuable stones. He wore necklaces of pearls or precious stones and had on him armlets of gold. The queen on public occasions took her seat on the throne along with the king, but wore no crown.

Throne

The throne was made of the best available material and adorned with ivory, gold, and precious stones. Rebeiro the Portuguese historian gives a description of one of the imperial thrones of the kings of Jaffna. "Among the other articles in the fortress was the imperial throne which was used by those kings at their solemn festivals; this consisted of several steps all beautifully carved and inlaid with ivory, a rare and costly work which the viceroy had intended to present to the king Dom Sebastiao on the occasion of his assuming the sceptre. Every effort was made to remove this but the task was found so difficult owing to its great size that finally orders were given that the top alone which was the most precious part of all should be broken off and entrusted to some reliable persons to be carried away, as proof of its magnificence.

* A History of Ceylon for Schools. Rev. Father S. G. Perera, Page 135.

Administration

The 'ur' was both town and village. It formed a unit for administrative purposes. The Thalamaikaran or headman was in charge of the administration of the village. The Adigar was superior to the headman and had to supervise the work of several headmen. These Adigars were appointed by the king. They were not paid by the crown, but were paid from the contributions of the well-to-do castes—the Vellalas, the Thanakaras, and the merchant class. Then there was another collective contribution to the king by each caste. Among the Careas the Pattankatti collected a tax on every 'dhoney' on its arrival at port. The 'Marala' on the dead was levied for the king by the issue of a cremation licence. All land was supposed to belong to the king. He granted lands for services rendered either for a stated period or at most for life. In the latter case on the death of the grantee, his heir would as a rule obtain a regrant on application to the king and on payment of a fee. Uliyam services were due from the lower castes who had to work gratis for twelve days in the year on public utility works. If they failed, they were fined. 'Pandarapillai', the tax-collector, went round collecting all dues and contributions. The aged had to supply palmyra shells for use as fuel at the forges. All wrecked ships on the coasts were the property of the king and Sangily Segarajasegaran seized many a Portuguese ship that were stranded off his coasts. Further the Jaffna kings had a separate carriage of their own.

Justice was administered free of charge impartially by the village 'panchayat' which con-

sisted of the chief elders of the village. This council acted as a sort of arbitration court. It followed the land custom, the trade custom, and the social custom. The king's court was the final court of appeal. Punishment in those days were severe even for trivial offences. 'Thesawalamai' was the authority in case of land suits.

Tamil Militia

In war, the Jaffna kings often sent their generals to the field, but sometimes the king took the field in person. We are told of Puviraja Pandaram II that he took a large force to attack the fort at Mannar. The Portuguese historian Rebeiro informs us that this king was slain, while defending his capital Nallur.

The Arya kings for the purpose of defending their country against all enemies had forts erected at Nallur and Kopay. Kalinga Magha, who was the first Arya Chakravarti of Jaffna, and the ruler of Polonnaruwa for more than twenty years, had several forts all over Ceylon and the one at Kayts was held by a very strong garrison. There seems to have been also a fort at Chavakachcheri. Besides, the Arya kings built a special refuge 'Pilathuvaram' (an underground building) with halls and apartments at Thondaiminaru to take shelter in times of emergency.

In ancient times king Elala had many strong forts to defend his territories against Sinhalese attacks, and the one at Vijitanagara had gates and moats all around.* The recent archaeo-

* Mahavamsa Chap. XXV, 28.

logical excavations of Matota reveal a moat round that celebrated city.

The fighting men of the king belonged to a a military caste among the Tamils—Maravars. The males of this tribe had to undergo military training between the ages of sixteen and twenty four, and thereafter they usually took to the cultivation of the lands allotted to them by the state. Whenever their services were required, they left their farms and served in the army. These forces were loyal to the king. The Kondaikaras * were a class of efficient troops in the armed forces. In later times the Vadagars were also employed in the king's services. All these soldiers were not wanting in valour or heroism. Their gallantry were well demonstrated in the bloody battle at Nallur in 1591, when all the valiant guards of the king died fighting to the last man.

The offensive weapons used by Tamil soldiers were swords, spears javelins, and bows and arrows. The Jaffna troops who fought for the taking of Jayawardena Kotte, were protecting themselves with wicker screens against poisoned darts.† In the fourteenth century the armour of of the Jaffna troops were coloured, and each regiment seems to have had a colour of its own.‡ In 1560 when Sangily's forces launched repeated onslaughts against the fort at Kopay, they used

* Probably they were recruited from Thondai Mandalam

† A Short History of Ceylon H. W. Codrington Page 72.

‡ A Short History of Ceylon H. W. Codrington Page 70.

ladders made of arecanut trees to scale the walls of the citadel.* In 1618 the Tamil soldiers who fought the Portuguese had sandal protection for their feet.† Thus it is clear that this country had a fairly continuous military tradition which served its immediate purposes, but it failed againt the superior weapons of European nations.

The Arya kings had good merchant fleets which helped them even in their military campaigns. When the Jaffna king made preparations to attack Jeyawardena Kotte, the king's ships transported the men and the materials to Colombo.

Civil Life

The organization of society was feudal, hence there was no unemployment. Occupational groups were usually called caste groups. Life was co-operative. The general atmosphere was one of harmony and if there were heated disputes, they were not acrimonious. In towns and villages the castes more or less lived in separate quarters, and followed their own peculiar customs. Though there was social exclusiveness in the matter of food and marriage among the people, yet they all co-operated in all village institutions and in matters of common interest.

There were about forty castes at the beginning of the seventeenth century when the Portu-

* Ribeiro's Ceilao, Sir Paul E. Pieris Page 46.

† Ceylon The Portuguese Era II Page 127.

guese took possession of the country.* Today many of these castes have lost their identity in the present strata of Tamil society. The process of fusion among the various castes still continues and their number may be much less after a century.

Village Life

The majority of the people lived in the villages and each village had its temple, its physician, its astrologer, and the temple priest. The landowners were the most influential class. There was a class of landless labourers and all daily labour was paid for in grain. The smiths and the carpenters supplied the peasant with implements for which they received grains in return. The barber and the washerman collected their dues during harvest time. The physician administered medicine free of charge. The astrologer advised the peasant on the times auspicious for sowing and harvesting. The village was a unit in itself.

When there was a wedding or a funeral, everyone gave a helping hand. Expenditure on these occasions were very limited, and there was no waste. The villagers had simple rites

*Castes of Jaffna at the beginning of the 17th century: Agambadiyas, Barbers, Blacksmiths, Brahmans, Careas, Carpenters, Chandas, Chetties, Chevias, Coppersmiths Dyers, Goldsmiths, Kaiholers, Kadeyars, Kovias, Madapallis, Malaiakathars, Maravars, Mukwars, Muslims, Nalawas, Ottars, Panars, Pallas, Paramparas, Paradesees Paravas, Pariahs, Potters Shoe-makers, Sempadavars, Thannakaras, Thavasis. Thurumbars, Timilars, Vanniyas, Vellalas, Washers, Weavers.

and ceremonies on all such occasions. They cremated their dead, but the poorer classes sometimes buried their corpses. Samadhi or burial in a sitting posture in a special place was reserved for realized souls and a structure was often raised over it.

Vellalas

The Vellalas consisted of two classes namely "Uluthuviththunpor" (those who get their fields ploughed by others) and "Uluthunpor" (those who ploughed their fields themselves). They enjoyed many privileges and were employed as commanders and officers of state. The kings held the Vellalas in high esteem that princes got their brides from Vellala families. The "Pattinapalai" a Sangam work says of the six great virtues of the Vellala. He abstains from killing and stealing; he promotes the propagation of religion; he is hospitable, just, and honest.

Rev. Baldeus, the Protestant missionary who arrived in Jaffna about 1658 gives a fair account of the Vellalas of his day. "It is time to say something of the inhabitants of Jaffnapatnam. The Bellales wear a kind of garment from above the navel, turning betwixt the legs like a pair of drawers. They also make use of "seripous" (or soles) tied to the bottom of the feet with leather straps, the upper part of the feet being bare to prevent their sweating. Upon the belly they have a kind of a bag, called 'Maddi' being part of their garment rolled together, wherein they keep their betel and areek and an ola leaf to make use of upon occasion."

"They live upon husbandry and are rich in cattle, such as cows, oxen for the plow, sheep, goats*, and bufflers. Their habitations are both convenient and neat with pleasant gardens well planted with betel and furnished with excellent springs. They thresh their corn after the manner of the Iraelites with oxen not muffled. These tread the feed out of the ears."

Thus the whole economy of the country depended on the Vellala. He was the producer of wealth, and in an agricultural society of the old order he was the pivot of social life. All activities in civil life were the outcome of his encouragement and interest.

Kovias

The Kovias are a virile tribe of people found in Jaffna. There has been much difference of opinion with regard to their origin, as such a tribe is not extant in India.

The Vaiya Padal, a Jaffna Chronicle, which is much older than the Vaipava Malai, mentions them as a caste found in Jaffna and in the Vanni Districts.† It was Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam who first expressed the view that they were the remnants of the Sinhalese Goigamas who were once a part of the population of the Jaffna kingdom.

Since the conquest of Jaffna by Senpahap Perumal in 1450, when the Sinhalese inhabitants in the Tamil areas of the north joined their

* In 1697, the Dutch Governor of Ceylon presented a full-grown Jaffna goat of immense size to the king of Kandy.

† Vaiya Padal J. W. Arudpragasam Page 30 Stanza 66

compatriots, the Sinhalese in Jaffna were looked upon with suspicion both by the people and the Tamil rulers. Ever from the time of the recapture of Jaffna in 1468 by Kanagasuriya Singai Aryan, the Sinhalese settlers continued to leave the Jaffna territories.

Those that remained, left the country in the time of Sangily Segarajasekaran. If the Kovias were of Sinhalese extraction, surely they too would have left Jaffna.

Another argument is that if there are a few Tamil Vellala settlements in a Sinhalese area, the Sinhalese would not call them Vellalas but Damilas. Likewise the Tamils would have called the Sinhalese inhabitants in their country as Sinhalese and not by their caste—Goigamas and later corrupted to Kovias.

In an age when there was a good deal of slave trade,* in an age when there was acute unemployment some Tamils sought employment in temples. For temples in those days were great institutions which provided employment for several hands. Furthermore to give oneself up as a servant to the Lord of a shrine is an old Dravidian custom. Parents even to-day make a formal selling of their newborns to a deity to fulfil a vow. The child is looked upon as a 'Servant of God'. Hence the people associated with the Kovil were termed as Kovias. The

*The Dutch engaged themselves in slave trade. Some of those slaves were sold in Jaffna and the Vanni Districts and the remaining in the Hill Districts. —*Vaipava Malai.*

author of the Vaipava Malai records the same opinion with regard to their origin.* This view is further endorsed by the Yalpana Vaipava Kamutty.† When the Portuguese arrived and destroyed the temples, the Kovias were thrown out of employment and eventually sought work under managers of temples who were mostly landed proprietors. In short this explanation of the origin of the Kovias seems to be plausible, but more acceptable.

Food and Dress

The chief articles of food were rice, all varieties of millet, tubers, fish, gingili, milk and milk products, meat, and the products of the palmyra. The food varied with the season, place and the class of people concerned. Brahmans and the upper classes were mostly vegetarians. The middle and the lower classes took a mixed diet, but beef and turtle were a taboo with all classes. Vegetable oils like gingili and "mi" § were extensively used for culinary purposes. Curds and ghee as recorded by Rev. Baldeus were favourite articles of diet with the upper classes. The oil of the Margosa was used for the lighting of lamps.

Men's dress reached the knee and women's the ankles. The girls plaited their hair into five parts and had them tied up. When a girl grew into womanhood, these five parts formed a knot. Women adorned their hair with flowers. Orna-

* Vaipava Malai Edited by Mudaliyar K. Sabanathan Page. 93.
† Yalpana Vaipava Kamutty K. Veluppillai Page. 106.
§ Native olive

ments of gold were worn by the well-to-do class. The men wore earrings.

Women

In ancient times marriage among the Tamils was a matter of self-choice, but in the middle ages parents usually fixed the marriages of their children. Tamil women had lofty conceptions of marriage and its ideals. A wife never stood in the way of her husband even if he had a concubine. Poothathamby's wife is a shining example of the high moral standard of Jaffna womanhood in olden times, As a whole women were hospitable and god-fearing, and daily visited their nearest temple (Kulathaivam) in the evenings.

Education

The R's were taught by the village 'pandither' or 'chaddampiar'. The children often met in the premises of a temple or a 'madam', and sometimes in the teacher's house to receive their instructions. These schools were known as 'Thinnaipallikudam'. Tamil grammar, Tamil literature, Nikandu (a lexicon in verse) and Ethics were some of the subjects that received emphasis at the hands of these village school masters. Philosophy was also taught to advanced students. The study of Sanskrit was a privilege of the Brahmans.

Mass-education was through the recitation and interpretation of the 'Puranas' and the epics. This system of education has been continuing right through the centuries in the village temple or madam. In certain villages pious philanthropists have bestowed grants of lands to the

temple for the above purpose. Though there was a good deal of illiteracy, yet the people were not wanting in culture or refinement. There was no dearth of poets and scholars. In the past four hundred years a great galaxy of Tamil writers and scholars of Ceylon have contributed in no small measure towards the advancement of Tamil learning and culture.

Furthermore there was a close cultural and social intercourse between South India and Jaffna. Segarajasekaran, the second son of Kanagasuriya Singai Aryan, brought learned scholars from South India to the educational centres of this country for the propagation of Tamil learning. There was a great library at Nallur by the name of 'Sarasvathy Maha Alayam'.

Priests and Mystics

The non-Brahmin priests from India known as 'Saiva Kurukkals' made settlements at Varany, Navaly, Chulipuram, and Vannarponnai to administer to the spiritual needs of the people.

As in the mainland of India great mystics or seers have from time to time appeared in this country to counsel, enliven, and console the people, whenever they underwent great trials and tribulations. Supathiddamunivar went to the court of Pararajasekaran (1478-1519) to forewarn the king and the people against evil times. Chittaiyar of Sittankerni, a great specialist in snake-bite, was a lineal disciple of Supathiddamunivar. These prophets were followed by Kottanar and later by Periathamby Iyer who

lived at Vannarponnai to a ripe old age of 120 years.*

In the Tamil country the temple was the pivot of the social life of the people. Religion, education, and art had their main inspiration from these centres. The artisans, who were connected with the temple, made the chariots, the vahanams, the images, and the lamps of the temple. In times of festival, musicians and "devadasis" employed their skill to entertain the temple-going public.†

Whenever the Vellalas built temples, they mostly erected shrines to Lord Ganesha in the vicinity of their fields, for he was the guardian of their crops. In like manner the Vanniyas, an agricultural people built temples to the same deity, and to-day the Vanni Districts are all dotted with numerous ruins of Pillaiyar temples (Ganesha). Lord Murugan or Subramaniya is another popular deity of the Hindus and Buddhists. Many 'Kannakai' temples in Jaffna in later times were converted into 'Amman' temples. Some of the oldest Hindu temples in Ceylon are those dedicated to Lord Siva. It is said of de Oli-

* In the last hundred years among this school of men may be mentioned Kadaitsamy of Jaffna, Annaikuddysamy of Colombo, and Palkudi Baba of Kataragama.

† J. R. A. S XXXVI No. 98. Page 74. In 1806 there were 18 dancing girls attached to the temple at Tirukovil (Eastern Province)

In 1344 Ibn Batuta states that in the Vishnu temple at Dondra there were 500 dancing girls, daughters of the nobility of India.

veira, the first Portuguese Governor of Jaffna, that he destroyed 500 Hindu temples in the Jaffna kingdom.* This only indicates the great number of Hindu temples that were tn this country. The temple at Kallar 7½ miles from Marichchukkaddi was seen in a tottering condition by J. Haffner a Dutchman, who travelled on foot from Jaffna to Colombo. It was so famous that even the priests, who officiated in it, were given a share of the pearl fishing.

Bhairava is frequently worshipped as a protector and guardian. The trident† is the symbol of this deity. This worship became very popular when Hindus were persecuted by the Portuguese and the Dutch in turn. During these periods the people surreptitiously created Bhairava shrines in their compounds and worshipped him in secret.

National Festivals

The Tamils lived in close touch with nature. As in the mainland astronomy and astrology very

* Ceylon The Portuguese Era II. Sir P. E. Pieris, Page 149. Of the great temples destroyed by the Portuguese in the Jaffna District mention should be made of Varyvananathar' temple of Chavakachcheri. There is no shrine to-day at that site to remind us of this great temple.

† The trident was associated with Siva even in the period of Mohenjo Daro. This cult found its way through Asia Minor to Rome and became associated with Neptune, the God of the sea. Later it became associated with Britannia. To the Saivites the trident is a symbol of the one God carrying on the functions of creation, protection and destruction

much influenced their lives*. The natural phenomena of New Moon, the entering of the sun into each sign of the Zodiac, the eclipses, the equinoxes, the solstices were all considered 'Punnyakalams' (Holy days). The national festivals were so fixed as to coincide with the natural phenomena.

The 'Uttarayanam' (the first six months after the Winter Solstice) was considered health-giving bright period for men and animals, because during this period the days became longer and longer. The beginning of the 'Uttarayanam' was celebrated by the 'Thaipongal' (13th or 14th January) and the 'Paddippongal' (cattle festival) on the following day. The 'Thaipongal' was also the time for the housewife to cast away her old pots and pans and to get new ones.

The 'Dadshanayam' (the second six months after the summer solstice) was considered not a very bright period for men and animals, because the days became shorter and shorter. The beginning of the Dadshanayam was celebrated by the Adipirapoo (13th or 14th July).

The sun entering into Aries after the Vernal Equinox was the celebration of the New Year (13th or 14th April). As the ancient Tamils like the Romans of old were a nation of yeomen, they had their temple festivals, their marriages, and other celebrations in the bright summer

*The Jaffna 'Vaikea Panchankam', the Tamil national calendar, was first issued by Ramalinga Iyer of Araly in 1667.

months after their harvests in February and March.

The Saraswathy Puja or Ayudha Puja was celebrated by the ancients in September—October during which period the children were first initiated into the mysteries of letters. It was also a festival of the artisans.

Another celebration on a national scale was the 'Deepavali'. At a time when the cold winter season sets in with the North-east monsoon in October—November the Tamils celebrated this festival with the wearing of new clothes.

These festivals apart from their social significance had also a religious significance. These religious days (Punnyakalams) from time immemorial were reminders of the moral and spiritual laws that were embodied in the Vedas.

To a Tamil, religion was not departmental; it permeated all his activities. No work was started without invoking the guidance of the Almighty. When all external forms of worship were abolished by the Portuguese and the Dutch, yet this ancient religion of the Tamils survived' because religion had become a part of the lives of the people. In the long history of the Tamils they never allowed religious faith to decay. In fact it was kept alive by the supermen who from age to age enlivened and inspired the masses by their lofty lives and teachings. Thus the creative life-giving instincts of the Tamils were kept alive through milleniums.

Tamil Medical System

The Tamil medical system that was practised in Jaffna is known as the Siddha system. It was best suited to the climate and economic conditions of the country. The physician lived in a society where learning was handed from generation to generation. He knew the art of preparing drugs especially those with iron and mercury. The physician was an expert in the purification, calcination, and oxidation of minerals. He knew the use of alkalies and had an intimate knowledge of plants and their properties. He was a master in treating poisoned conditions as snake-bite which baffles us to-day. The physician was able to dispense medicine free of charge. His methods were cheap, natural, and simple. With the herbs he collected in the district, and with simple drugs he gave a rural population good medical aid. The Jaffna physician was a very efficient man for we learn that Paranirupasingam once went to Kandy and successfully treated a long standing ailment of the queen.

The kings of Jaffna encouraged the practice of medicine by getting new books on the subject written by able physicians, and caused them to be revised from time to time by a body of physicians. 'Pararajasegaram' and 'Segarajasegaram' are books of this category. There was a herbarium at Kalliyangkadu where some rare herbs were preserved.*

* The Maruthuvavalai the best variety of the Jaffna plantain was so named because it was grown in the Maruthuva Thoddam (herbarium). Similarly the blue lotus (Chenkkalanir) a rare variety of lotus has been preserved in Jaffna from extinction.

Amusements

The temple festivals furnished much amusement to the masses. The 'Naddukuttu' was a favourite form of open air entertainment in summer. Girls in the villages went up and down the 'Anna-unchal' to the rhythm of the 'Kappal Paddu'. Boys often played 'Paddioddam', 'Thadchy' and 'Kiddy' in the afternoons. 'Kolladdam' and fencing were also popular. As a sort of pastime men played dice and women 'Thyum.' With the approach of the New Year in April there was much fun and frolic in the country.

During the time of the Jaffna kings many arts and crafts peculiar to Jaffna flourished. The chief among these is dyeing with "Chaya" root. Large quantities of this root were dug up in the islands of Delft, Karaitivu, Mannar, and in the sea-coast villages of Ilavalai, Chulipuram, and Mundampiddy. A particular class of Pallas known as Verkutti were adepts in finding out these roots and made it their trade. Another class of people the Chayakkarar (dyers) dyed new clothes. When alum was mixed with 'chaya' root powder, red 'chaya' cloth was obtained. Wax was used to make designs on cloths, and was known as "melukeluthu". The other type of cloth was "Thannieluthu" (water-writing)

In like manner, dyeing of palmyra leaves was also a cottage industry for women. The bark of the 'naval' (Blackberry) and Tulip were used to get 'olas' of the purple colour. Other specifics were also used to get 'olas' of different colours. These olas were used for decorative designs in mat and basket-making.

Cloth weaving was practised in Jaffna from very ancient times. "The Jaffna weaver takes his station under a shed where he stretches his warp thread (called Nesavu-pa) between two wooden rollers which are fastened to the floor by wooden pins. He digs a hole in the earth deep enough to contain his legs when in a sitting posture and manipulates his crude wooden instrument." The district of Mannar*, the island of Delft, and Vannarponnai were great centres for the weaving of cloth. Silkworms were also reared and silk cloth was woven in Jaffna. As there were these hereditary silk-weavers, the Dutch during their period popularized the silk industry.

Rope-making was also one of the chief industries of Jaffna. Palmyra fibre and the bark of the 'Arththy' were the raw materials used for rope-making. The latter was greatly exported during the Dutch period.

* Folk songs of Jaffna: The following is a dirge of a Jaffna woman who has lost her husband.

கறுப்பும் சிவப்பும்—எனக்குக்
கலந்துடுக்கக் கை நோகும்
மன்னருக்கச்சு இப்போ
மடித்துடுக்க நாளாச்சே.

To wear in change the black and the red
My hands would weary.
The day is now on for me to drape in folds
The long cloth of Mannar.

(The wearing of white cloth among Hindu women is a token of widowhood.)

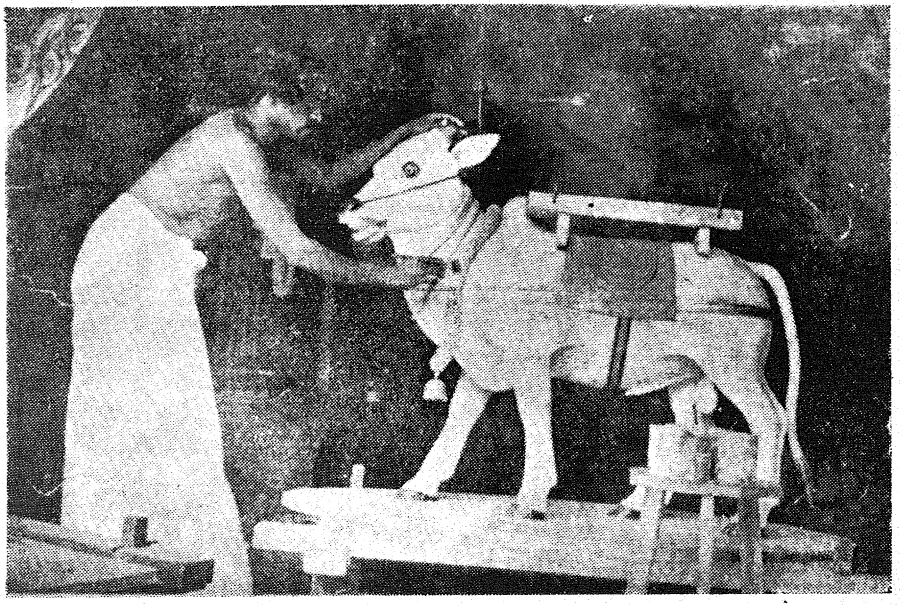
Many distinguished Europeans including His Majesty king Edward VII had taken with them some of the finest specimens of the works of the Jaffna jeweller. Filigree jewellery is peculiar to Jaffna and has won the admiration of outsiders, and also won medals at the Empire Exhibition at Wembley.

Carpenters of Jaffna for long has been famous for making 'vahanams', temple cars, vehicles, and agricultural implements. In like manner the blacksmith and the coppersmith produced household utensils. Sculptors supplied temple images of bronze.

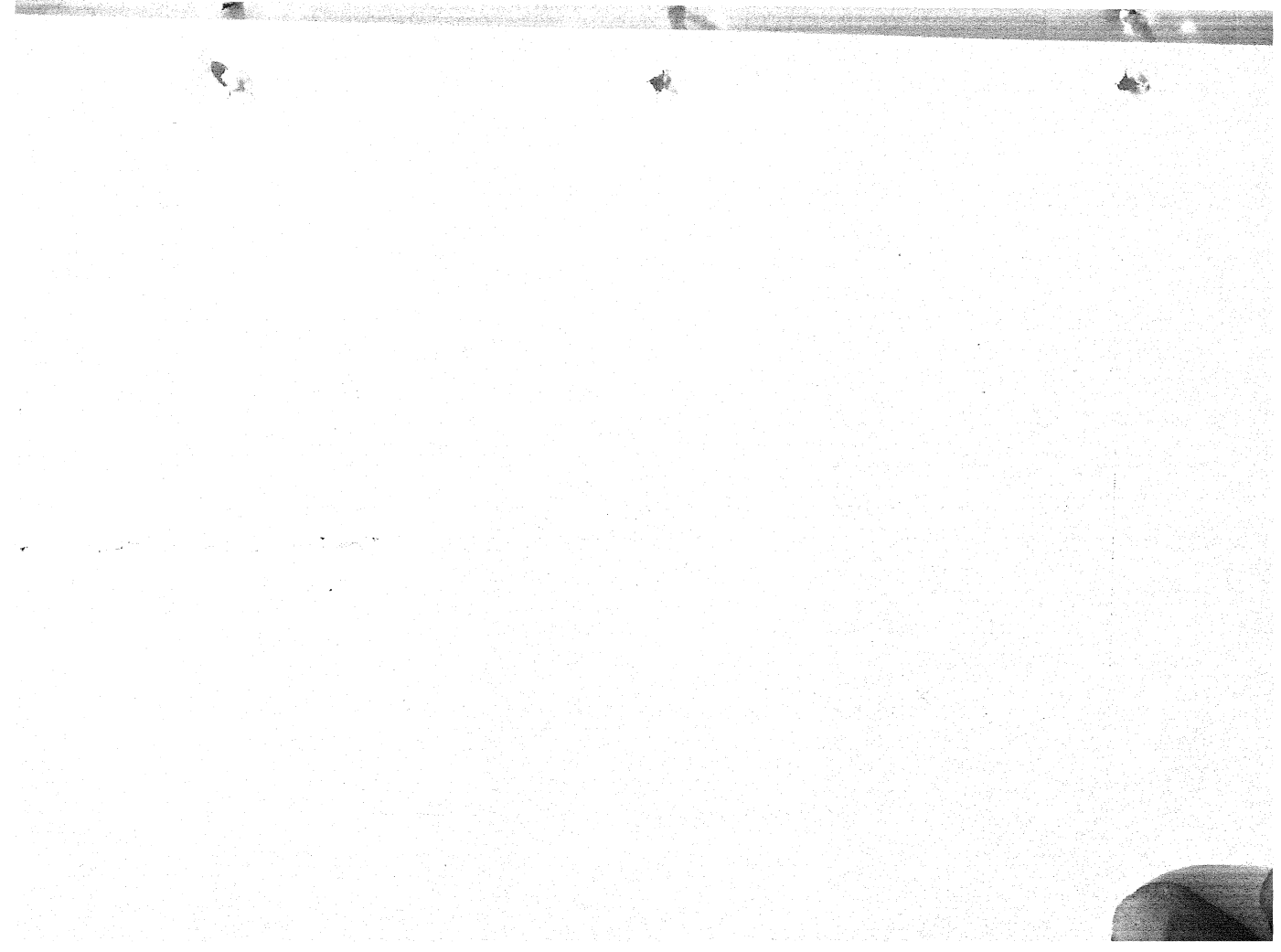
There existed a systematized husbandry in Jaffna. The Tamil farmer knew the value of the rotation of crops, and practised it from time immemorial. He knew the type of manure that is beneficial to the various crops he cultivated. Vegetables, yams, cereals, plantains, and betel were methodically cultivated by him.

Cattle raising was one of the chief industries of ancient Jaffna. The island of Delft was called the 'Isle of Cows' by the Portuguese. The other islands were famous for sheep and goats. The pasture lands along the sea-coast were the feeding grounds for the cattle of the peninsula.

Fishing was the main occupation of the people who lived near the sea-coasts. Pearl-fishing in the gulf of Mannar was one of the main sources of income for the Jaffna kings, and they enjoyed the monopoly.



This is a traditional art of Jaffna. The bull, the horse, the elephant, the lion, the ram, the rat, the peacock, the swan, the hawk, and the five-headed cobra are some of the 'vahanams' executed by the carpenters of Jaffna.



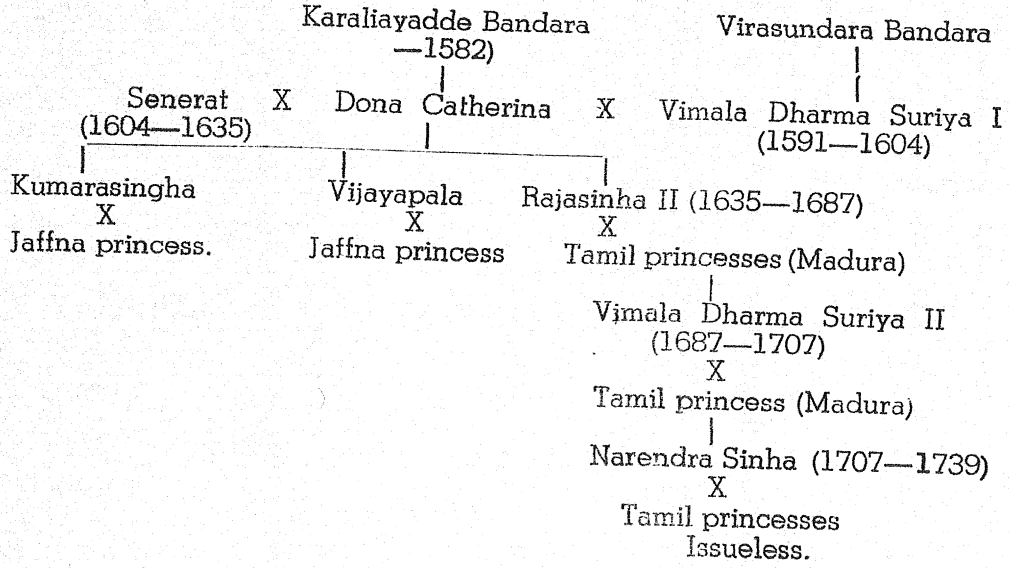
Salt was a specialized manufacture of the Tamils in the Island.* Jaffna was supplied with salt from the villages of Karanavai, Chemmaney, the district of Mannar, and the islands.

Uratota (Kayts) has long been famous for the building of sailing vessels, and during the Portuguese period Portuguese ships were brought to this port for repairs. Elephants that were captured in the king's dominion were exported to India through this port.



* R. A. S. Vol. I, No. 3, Page 99.

KINGS OF KANDY



KANDYAN TAMIL DYNASTY

(1) Sri Vijaya Rajasinha (brother of the queen)
(1739—1747) X Tamil princesses.

(2) Kirti Sri (brother of the queen of Sri Vijaya)
(1747—1782) X Tamil princess.

(3) Rajadhirajasinha (brother of Kirti Sri)
(1782—1798) X Tamil princess.

(4) Sri Vikrama Rajasinha (son of the king's sister)
(1798—1815) X Tamil princess.



CHAPTER XI

THE INFLUENCE OF THE TAMILS ON THE HISTORY OF CEYLON

ETHNOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

THE influence, which the Tamils exerted on the history of Ceylon, is tremendous. As Ceylon is an island in close proximity to India, the people, who inhabited it before the coming of Vijaya, must have been of the same stock as the people of South India.

Three main streams helped to form the Sinhalese race. The first stream was a contingent of seven hundred followers under their leader Vijaya Rajah Sinha from Sinhapura, the centre of a young principality Lala, which at that date was an outlying district of the Kalinga kingdom. The second stream was a contingent of seven hundred maidens from Madura who came as brides with a retinue of servants, and a thousand families of the eighteen guilds. The third stream was the aboriginal inhabitants of Ceylon, the Yakkas, and Nagas who were both Dravidian.

Another minor stream, that helped to form the Sinhalese race, was the Magadhese Buddhists. According to the Vaipava Malai, Vijaya invited these Buddhists who were in search of an asylum, as a result of Brahmanical persecution

after the death of Buddha, and settled them in various parts of the country with full liberty to follow their own faith.

The chroniclers have not mentioned the number of Aryans and Dravidians in the first contingent of Vijaya, but it is certain that they came from a Dravidian country. The contingent, that came from Madura, were all Dravidians. By natural presumption the most numerous of the three sections viz., the home population were all Dravidians. Rightly the late Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana when speaking of the Sinhalese says: "I shall, therefore, briefly state that in respect of their blood the Sinhalese are a Dravidian race slightly modified by a Mongoloid strain and an Aryan wash."

Tamil settlements in Sinhalese areas

Besides these streams a considerable amount of Dravidian blood especially Tamil had been added to the population in the past twenty five centuries. As an act of retaliation for the Chola invasion of the Island by Karikalan, Gaja Bahu (A. C. 174-196) brought 1200 Tamils as prisoners of war, and settled them in the lands at Harispattu, Tumpane, Alutukuruwa, Udunuwara, Yatinuwara, Sarasiya pattuwa etc. *

In the early period of Anuradhapura, Kaka Mukkaras, who occupied the North-western Districts, and under a leader Nila Mudali gave much trouble to Anuradhapura kings.† They

* Rajavaliya (B. Gun) Page 42.

† R. A. S. Vol. XXX. No. 80. Page 320.

could not be dislodged, and they became a part of the Sinhalese nation.

The Tamil Udayas settled in the North central and North-western provinces.* During the time of Rajasen there came a large band of Tamil Vanniyas (known as Wanniwaru—Sinhalese) and settled in the districts of Nuwarakalawiya.†

Several batches of Chaliyas were brought over from the Tamil country to Ceylon at different times. Sir Emerson Tennet says that the Chaliyas came from South India during the time of Devanampiya Tissa ‡ In 1638 a petition was presented by the Chaliyas to Diogo de Melo, the Portuguese Captain - General. A paragraph from the petition runs as follows: "We the Chaleas came to this Island in a 'paguel' of the Moors which transported us to Chilao. We derive our origin from Chale and it is from us that the port of Chale takes the name which it has to-day. Seven of us started, one escaped, and six remained. We married in the Island at the king's capital. Kalutara was the first 'Paravenia' which was given to us, and from there we spread along the coast as is seen to-day. When our numbers increased, the kings levied from us a customary payment of two fanams a household. Our profession was the weaving of cloth, and therefore, we paid a 'tuppoti' a year".§ Another

* R. A. S. Vol. XXX. No. 80. Page 306.

† R. A. S. Vol. III No. 9. Page 149.

‡ Ceylon—Sir Emerson Tennet. Part 4, Chap. 4, Page 453.

§ Ceylon The Portuguese Era II Sir Paul E. Pieris Page 226.

colony of Chaliyas were brought in the time of Wathini and settled in the Chilaw Districts.* The last batch of Chaliyas arrived at Beruwala.†

The Paduwos a tribe of people found in the hill districts, are said to be the descendants of the Pandyan prisoners of war, and the hereditary serfs of the king.‡

In 1590 a number of princes with their followers from Malabar, who were defeated by their neighbour the Maravaras, sought refuge here. They were given the country near Pomparipu and the Vanni where they settled down.§

The Rajavaliya says that Kalinga Magha settled Tamils in every village.[1] The Rajaretnakara records that in the ninth and tenth centuries the domination of the Tamils was so complete that they were found in large numbers in every town and village throughout the Island.[2] All these Tamils in Sinhalese areas became a part of the Sinhalese nation in the centuries that followed.

During the reign of king Narendra Sinha (1707-1739) a large number of chiefs and others from Madura came and settled down under the protection of the king. They intermarried among

* Ceylon The Portuguese Era II Sir Paul E. Pieris Page 544.
† " " " " " " 542.
‡ " " " " " " 486.
§ R. A. S Vol. XXX No. 80. Page 321.
1. Rajavaliya (B. Gun) Page 53
2. R. A. S. Vol. X No. 35 Page 117.

the Sinhalese families and held high offices.* In this reign there also arrived large numbers of Wadugas from the Telugu country and took their residence in up-country.†

In 1651 the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa sent a colony of people from Salsete with their wives and children to the Negombo District.‡

This colony seems to be the Tamil speaking Karawo tribe who belongs to three groups named Warnakula, Kurukula, and Mihindukula.[1] They are to-day being absorbed among the Sinhalese.

When the Jaffna kingdom made its expansion southwards in the fourteenth century, the Arya Chakravartis settled Tamils in their new territories.[2]

After the Cholas left the Island in 1070 those Tamils who remained behind in Sinhalese districts became a part of the Sinhalese people.

For the purpose of carrying out the customary services of the great Munneswaram[3] temple

* R. A. S. Vol. XXX No 80. Page 321.

† R. A. S. do do do

‡ Ceylen The Portuguese Era II Page 359.

1. " " " " II Page 573.

2. Vaipava Malai edited by Mudaliyar K. Sabanathan. Page 43.

3. Munneswaram was once an independent principality ruled by a Brahman. It consisted of the districts of Chilaw and Puttalam. Before the coming of the Portuguese, it was a separate kingdom and had a coinage of its own. (Kuruddu kasu-Tam, Andu marsa-Sinh).—Temple Manmiam says of the Tamil colonists.

at Chilaw, Tamil colonists consisting of artisans, drummers, oil makers, priests etc were settled in the sixty four villages that belonged to the temple.* The names of the villages in the Chilaw and Puttalam districts seem to be generally Tamil.

In the Tangalla and Hambantota area there are prevalent many Tamil terms.† In the division of Girawa Pattuwa there are three main streams, the Kahawatta Aru, the Kirama Aru, and the Urubokka Aru. The Kachchigal Aru, is on the western boundary of the above division. There are many other Tamil terms which could be traced.

Brahmans were also brought from South India from time to time. During the reign of Panduvasdeva some Brahmans were brought to cure the king of an illness. During the Kurunegala period Goigama palanquin-bearers refused to do the hereditary 'Rajakariya', as the new king Vattimi was an offspring of an Arab lady. The prince's advisers, therefore, went to South India and inviegled some Brahmans[1], and brought them

* Ceylon The Portuguese Era II Page 476. The temple lands would include the whole of the Kalpitiva peninsula and would stretch from Udappuwa 12 miles from Chilaw, up to Dutch Bay as far as Cardiva. By a grant of 1608 the Portuguese authorities directed the entire revenue of these temple villages to the Jesuits to be utilized for the Catholic College in Colombo.

† R. A. S. Vol. XII No. 43 Page 249.

1. Traditional Sinhalese Culture by Ralph Pieris Page 38.

here as captives to take the place of the Goigama palanquin-bearers. This was done to spite the Goigamas.

It is the opinion of some historians like Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam that the seafaring people along the western and the southern coasts of Ceylon were originally Tamils. In this connection it is good to note that there are many Tamil names or Tamil combinations for many coastal towns: Pomparipu[1], Puttalam[2], Madurankuli[3], Kakkapalliya[4], Manakkulama[5], Kochchikade[6], Panadura[7], Kalutra[8], Galle[9], Matara[10], Tangalla[11] etc.

When Tamil soldiers were brought from South India for the civil wars in Ceylon, and when they were not paid they settled down in the Island. On the other hand, when the Tamils were defeated, the prisoners of war were distributed as slaves to Viharas. The soldiers of Sri Naga, the uncle of Jettha Tissa III, were distributed in like manner.

1. Pomparipu or Ponparipu = golden plains (Tamil)
2. Puttalam = Pudu + alam = new saltern ,,
3. Madurankuli = Kuli = a depression (Tamil)
4. Kakkapalliya = Kakka + Palli = country of the Kaka tribe.
5. Manakkulama = Manak Kulam = Sandy Kulam (Tamil)
6. Kochchikade = Kochchi + Kadai = chili shop.
7. Panadura — Panar was an ancient seafaring Tamil tribe. Yalpanam. durai = port (Tamil)
7. Kalutra. turai = port (Tamil)
9. Galle. Kal = stone ,,
10. Matara. Ma + turai = great port (Tamil)
11. Tangalla. Tan + Galla = South Galle (Tamil) or a town in the Tinnevelly District.

In the Dutch period the East India Company of Holland brought down Tamil labourers for the cultivation of the rice fields.*

Thus it is clear that all the Tamils in the Sinhalese areas became a part of the Sinhalese people in the centuries that followed.

On the other hand the Nagas, who lived in Tamil areas, became a part of the Tamil people. The Lambakanna clan of the early Anuradhapura period is one example of this intermixture. The dissolution of the Naga race was a gradual process which was only complete after many centuries. The mother of Devanampiya Tissa (247—207 B. C.) was probably a Naga princess. Looking into a list of the kings of Ceylon, one would find Naga names† like Naga and Tissa appear only up to a certain period.

LANGUAGE

The components of the Sinhalese race that have already been mentioned are supported by the structure of the Sinhalese language and its vocabulary. Rev. Father T. C. Closset in his book, 'The Dravidian Origin and Philosophy of human Speech', says that the construction of sentences in Sinhalese is essentially Dravidian. Secondly he points out that many of its words even the

* Ceylon and the Hollanders: Sir Paul E. Pieris.

† Names of males as Nagar, Nagiah, Nagalingam are common among Jaffna Tamils.

Likewise names of females as Nagamma, Nagamuttu, Nageswary are also common.

most elementary are Dravidian in origin. Further he refers to the identity of style in Tamil and Sinhalese. "If one takes a page of fine Sinhalese literature as a rule he may, word for word render it into Tamil and have a page of literary Tamil."

We shall now examine what an eminent authority as the late Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana said in a lecture at Ananda College, in 1918. "Language it may be premised is the medium for the communication of our thoughts, and thoughts are communicated not by isolated words, but by means of sentences. Language taken essentially is, therefore, the sentence, and grammar is the science which analyses and explains the construction of the sentence. Scientifically, therefore, the determining factor of a language is not its vocabulary but its structure viz., that aspect of it which is concerned with the arrangement and mutual adjustment of words in the expression of thought; and in this respect, it must be said, that Sinhalese is essentially a Dravidian language. This is not all. Its evolution too seems to have been on a Tamil basis. And so we seem safe in saying that, while in regard to its word equipment, Sinhalese is the child of Pali and Sanskrit, it is with regard to its physical features and physical structure, essentially the daughter of Tamil." Two reasons may be given for the conclusions drawn by Mudaliyar Gunawardhana. The main elements to build up the Sinhalese race were Vijaya's contingent, the Tamil contingent from South India, and the other the Nagas an ancient Dravidian people.

Some of the arguments given by the late Mudaliyar Gunawardhana to show that Sinhalese is essentially a Dravidian language with regard to its physical features and physical structure. He compares Pali and Sinhalese on the one hand and Tamil on the other.

(1) In Pali aspirated consonants are present while they are absent in pure Sinhalese and Tamil.

(2) In Pali there are eight vibhaktis or tenses and moods of the verb, whereas Sinhalese follows Tamil only with the three ordinary tenses, present, past, and future.

(3) Pali has a distinct optative mood, Tamil makes use of the ordinary verb for this, with an addition of the suffix aha. Sinhalese follows this device with the suffix 'va'.

(4) The two conjugational forms named attano-pada and parassa-pada in Pali are absent in Sinhalese, as they are in Tamil.

(5) In Pali, the verb is conjugated for the passive voice as for the active, by means of suffixes. In Tamil the place of suffixes is supplied by conjugated forms of the root 'padu' to suffer. In Sinhalese the device is the same, the place of the suffixes being supplied by the conjugated forms of the root 'laba' to receive.

(6) In Pali the adjective is declined for gender, number and case. In Tamil it is not. Sinhalese follows the Tamil.

(7) In Pali the relative clause is sometimes a necessity. In Tamil the necessity is absent and the place of the relative clause is supplied by a verbal adjective as it is in Sinhalese.

(8) In Pali, the verb-stem of the past tense is developed from the root either (a) by placing before it the vowel 'a' or (b) doubling the initial consonant of the root. This is unknown to Tamil as well as to Sinhalese.

(9) In Tamil, the past tense is formed from the stem of the past participal adjective, by adding the personal suffixes for the two numbers. In Sinhalese it is the same.

(10) In Pali there is no junction of words by means of the epenthesis y or v in a concursus of two vowels, the first of which may happen to be i or u. In Tamil when 'i' or 'u' forms the first of a concursus of two vowels, their junction by means of the epenthesis y or v, as the case may be compulsory. So in Sinhalese.

(11) In Tamil there are two verbs podu - 'to put' and vidu - 'to leave off', which are affixed to other verbs just for the sake of vivid expression, the substantive verb in this case being put in the perfect participle. There is no such idiom in any known Aryan language. But the idiom obtains in Sinhalese.

(12) In Tamil, after the Nominative and Accusative cases have been given, the stem of the Accusative case is the guide to the rest of the declension. In Sinhalese it is the same.

Mudaliyar Gunawardhana further says that more affinities between the two languages all on the inner side could be given.

On the other hand many reasons have been put forward to prove that the Sinhalese language has Aryan charateristics. The relationship between

the two languages of the Island, however, is interesting, and none can deny the influence of Tamil on the grammatical constitution of the Sinhalese language.

POLITICAL SPHERE

Royal Families

Most of the Sinhalese kings married Tamil princesses from South India, or took their brides from royal families which had made Ceylon their homeland. Queen Ratnavali, the mother of Parakrama Bahu I, says on the question of marriage to her daughters: "After the prince named Vijaya had slain all the Yakkas, and made this Island of Lanka habitable for men, since then one has allied the family of Vijaya with ours by unions above all with scions of the Kalinga line. Union with other princes was also hitherto unknown with us save with the kings of the Moon dynasty".*

There was in the village of Beligala, in the Kegalle District families of the Kalinga royal race which had furnished royal brides to kings of the Sinhalese dynasty†. The mother of Parakrama Bahu VI was Sunetra Devi, a princess of the Kalinga dynasty from Dedigama, a village in Beligala.[1] Parakrama Bahu VI and the sons of Vira Parakrama Bahu married princesses of the

* Culavamsa LXIII lines 12—15.

† R. A. S. Vol. XXVIII No. 74. Page 111.

1. Culavamsa II Geiger Chap. 91—notes Page 216.

Kalinga royal race.[1] It had more or less been an article of faith for Sinhalese princes to take Kalinga brides. Mahadathika Maha Naga[2] (A. C. 67—79), Canda Mukha Siva[3] (A. C. 103—112), Mahanama[4] (A. C. 409—431), Mahinda IV[5] (956—972), Vikkama Bahu I[6] (1029—1041), Vijaya Bahu I[7] (1070—1114), Vikkama Bahu II[8] (1116—1137), Raja Sinha II[9] (1635—1687), Vimala Dharma Suriya II[10] (1687—1707) and Narendra Sinha[11] (1707—1739), the last Sinhalese king of Kandy married Tamil brides.

After the twelfth century, the Sinhalese royal families had their marriage alliances with the Pandyan royal families. Parakrama Bahu II said to his children on his death bed: "I have made the kings of Dambadipa (India) your relations."* He meant that he had strengthened Ceylon and South India by marriage alliances. Two sons of Senerat, king of Kandy, married two Jaffna princesses.

1. R. A. S. Vol. XXVIII No. 74 Page 111.
 The Rajavalia (B. Gun) Page 61.
2. History of Buddhism in Ceylon—Walpola Rahula Page 237.
3. Mahavamsa Geiger Chap. XXXV, 48.
4. Culavamsa I „ „ XXXVIII, 1.
5. „ I „ „ LIV, 9—10
6. „ I „ Page 357.
7. „ I „ Chap. LIX, 46—47.
8. „ I „ „ „ 49.
9. Ceylon and the Hollanders. Sir Paul E. Pieris Page 17.
10. Culavamsa II Geiger Chap. XCVII, 2.
11. R. A. S. Vol. XXX No. 80, Page 321.

*The Rajavaliya (B. Gun) Page. 56.

Lambakannas

The Lambakannas (so called on account of the heavy ear ornaments they wore) were an important ruling clan in the early Christian era. This dynasty seems to have had Tamil and Naga blood in them. In Parakrama Bahu's South Indian campaign, Lankapura, the Ceylonese general after defeating the enemy, charged the Lambakannas of Madura to make preparations for the festival of the coronation of Prince Vira Pandu.* This clearly shows that the Lambakannas were Tamils or a Tamil mixed clan.

The Kalinga and the Lunar dynasties that ruled Ceylon were Tamils more or less. The kings of Kotte who followed Senpahap Perumal, afterwards known as Bhuvaneka Bahu VI, the conqueror of the Jaffna kingdom, were Tamils to a great extent. The last four kings of Kandy, the Nayakkars, were pure Tamils. The last king of Kotte, Dharmapala was the grandson of a Tamil prince on his paternal line, while his mother belonged to a Tamil dynasty.

Great Kings of Ceylon

Some of the ablest kings of Ceylon were Tamils or they had Tamil blood in them, viz., Elala, Nissanka Malla, Kirti Sri Rajasinha, Parakrama Bahu I, Parakrama Bahu II, Rajasinha I

* Culavamsa II Geiger Chap. 77,—28.

and Parakrama Bahu VI. Parakrama Bahu I* was the grandson of a Tamil prince, on his father's side and his maternal grandmother was also a Tamil princess. Parakrama Bahu II in his poem 'Kavsilumina' claims to be of the Lunar race descended from king Pandu. As mentioned earlier, Parakrama Bahu VI's mother Sunetra Devi was a Kalinga princess. Rajasinha I was the great-grandson of Kadai Kumaraya or Ambulugala Raja on his father's side.

Succession

The law of succession in Ceylon was the throne passed from the king to his younger brother and after him to the other younger brothers in turn. After the deaths of the bro-

*'Ancient Ceylon' Parker, Page 250 gives a translation of a slab inscription found in one of the tanks built by Parakrama Bahu I.

"Made for the benefit of the whole world by the prosperous Sri Parakrama Bahu born at Sinhapura minded of what was fit to be done."

Surely the 'Sinhapura' referred to could not be the one in the Kalinga country, because his father and mother lived in Ceylon. Probably the Singa Nagar of Jaffna is referred to as Sinhapura in Sinhalese. This is another helpful evidence to show that Parakrama Bahu's parents were directly connected with the Kalinga royal families of Jaffna. Vijaya Bahu's queen Tilokasundari, who had come from Sinhapura, in all probability might have come from Singa Nagar of Jaffna. We are led to believe that just as in the early Christian era the Naga princes of Jaffna through marriage alliances became the rulers of Anuradhapura, so in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Kalinga princes of Jaffna became rulers of Polonnaruwa.

thers of the king, the eldest son of the eldest brother became the rightful heir to the throne. The original law of succession was in force till the end of the fifth century. Later some of the Kalinga and Pandu kings followed the matriarchal system, and traced their descent from the mother's side. Parakrama Bahu I claimed his descent from the mother's side.

In the Anuradhapura period kings claimed that they were Bodhisattvas. But after the Cholas the kings of Ceylon claimed that they were Buddhas.

Officers of State

Ministers of the kings of Ceylon were drawn from the learned of South India. The royal chaplain (purohita) was usually a Brahman, and was the chief of ministers. This system was continued by the kings of Ceylon right through the centuries. Vijaya's 'purohita' was Upatissa, a Brahman. Upatissa was the founder of Upatissagama. Pandukabhaya appointed a Brahman Canda, son of his tutor, as his chaplain. Devanampiya Tissa's 'purohita' accompanied the king's nephew Arittha on an embassy to Asoka.

In a Chinese history of the Suy dynasty, it is stated that in A. C. 607 the king of Ceylon sent a Brahman with thirty vessels to meet the approaching ships which escorted an embassy from China* In A. C. 746 the king who despatched the embassy is described as sending as his envoy, 'a Brahman priest the anointed gradu-

*Sir Emerson Tennet Part 4 Chap. 4 Page 453.

ate of the three-fold repositary bearing as offerings head ornaments of gold, precious neck pendants, a copy of the great Prajana Sutra, and forty webs of fine cotton cloth'.

Parakrama Bahu IV (1325—?) appointed a royal teacher a Grand Thera from the Chola country, a self-controlled man, versed in various tongues and intimate with philosophic works. "Ever and again he heard from him continuously all the Jatakas, learned them (by heart) and retained their contents. Then he rendered by degrees these five hundred and fifty beautiful Jatakas from the Pali tongue into the Sihala speech."*

About 1640 a Brahman minister was sent as an ambassador to Batavia by Rajasinha II.† King Narendra Sinha (1707—1739) asked the Pandyan king for the hand of his daughter in marriage, and for two princes from his house for appointment as ministers. The king readily sent his daughter Sumitava and two princes Swaminatha and Hemanatha to be ministers.§ Kirti Sri Rajasinha appointed one member of his family as chief minister. [1]

* Culavamsa Chap. 90, 81—83.

The translation of the Jatakas bears the Sinhalese title 'Pansiyapanasjataka'.

† Ceylon: The Portuguese Era II Page 301.

§ R. A. S. Vol. XXX No. 80. Page 321.

1. -do- -do- -do- -do-

In the Gampola period or earlier a forefather of Alagakkonara, the illustrious minister of Vikrama Bahu III, came from Kanchipuram and resided in Ceylon. His descendants intermarried among the Sinhalese nobility and held some of the chief appointments such as those of prime ministers, and commanders-in-chief of the army under successive kings. Alagakkonara, minister of Vikrama Bahu III, ultimately played an important part in throwing off the yoke of the kings of Jaffna.

Bhuvaneka Bahu VII, king of Kotte, sent a small statue or image of his grandson Dharmapala in charge of a chief named Sellappu Arachchi (Tamil name) to the court of Lisbon to be formally crowned by the king of Portugual. The Sannas issued by the kings of Kotte were attested by Sannas Tiruvarahan Perumal. The Sannas minister appears to have been held by members of one family. Probably 'Tiruvarahan' is a mistaken form of Tiruvarangan.* For about two hundred years the name 'Tiruvarahan' is met with in tha Kotte Sannas which fact demonstrates that Tamils were employed as ministers of the king.

Tamatey Sambara Perumal,† brother of Vidiya Bandara was the grand chamberlain of Bhuvaneka Bahu VII. In Portuguese documents the ambassador of Bhuvaneka Bahu is called Pandither, the Tamil form being used instead of the Sinhalese 'Pandita'. In like manner the learned

* This name is frequently met with even to-day in Malabar.

† Tamil: Thamothy Sithampara Perumal.

of South India served as ministers in the courts of the Sinhalese kings.

Tamil Generals

In the seventh century Pottha Kuttha, a Tamil general, set up two kings in succession at Anuradhapura. In reality the general administered the kingdom, and the kings were his puppets. In the reign of Parakrama Bahu I Damiladhikarin Rakkha was a great general who enhanced the prestige of the king. Damiladhikarin Adicca was sent with a large fleet by Parakrama Bahu I to conquer lower Burma. In the reign of Kassapa IV (896 - 913) there lived a Tamil Adhikari Utur Pandiradun* who seems to have been the superintendent of lands granted to Tamil soldiers.

Tamil Soldiers

"The people", says Marco Polo, "were unwarlike and soldiers were brought from the Malabar coast." King Abhya Naga (A. C. 291-299), Manavamma (A. C. 676-711), and Dathasiva I had Tamil soldiers under them. Mahinda V (981-1017) employed Kannada and Kerala soldiers. Parakrama Bahu VI had Tamil soldiers under him. Alagakkonara made use of Tamil soldiers for the defence of Kotte against the attacks of Arya Chakravarti. King Parakrama Bahu I, Vijaya Bahu I, Gaja Bahu II, and Vikkama Bahu II had the Velaikkaras under them. Likewise most kings of Ceylon employed Tamil soldiers in their standing army. There

* E. Z. III Page 270 ff lines 8-11.

are many inscriptions of the medieval period where lands were given to Tamil soldiers *

Velaikkaras

Velaikkaras were the cream of the Chola army under Rajendra I. They were the body guards of the kings. They were not a body of mercenary soldiers. From time immemorial it was the custom in India for loyal and faithful servants who failed to carry out the orders of their kings to commit suicide. It was something like the Harakiri in Japan. These soldiers took the oath that they would defend their kings with their lives, and if any misfortune should befall them, they would kill themselves. It was also the custom for the king to dine with them on the day of the coronation. After the departure of the Cholas from Ceylon the remnant of their forces the Velaikkaras served in the armies of the Sinhalese kings, under whose rule they lived. This body of men at Polonnaruwa were a powerful section, and continued to give trouble to Vijaya Bahu I, Gaja Bahu II, and Parakrama Bahu the Great. When in 1084 Vijaya Bahu prepared to declare war against the Cholas, the Velaikkaras revolted against the prospect of invading their homeland. They killed the generals who were to lead the expedition. They burnt the royal palace at Polonnaruwa, and seized some members of the royal family. The king fled to the hills for safety, but soon returned and crushed the rebels. Later the king had to abandon his expedition against the Cholas.

* E. Z. III Page 143, IV P. 44.

On the death of the Chola king Virarajendra, in 1070 there was civil war in his dominion. The main Chola forces in Ceylon were withdrawn to serve in the home country. King Vijaya Bahu (A. C. 1070-1114) seized this grand opportunity of attacking the enemy and succeeded in driving the Cholas out of Ceylon. A king, who fled on the revolt of a small remnant of the Chola army, could never have driven the full Chola forces out of the Island, if they had only remained here and given fight.

Velaikkara Inscription

In the last years of King Vijaya Bahu, the Velaikkaras set up a fine Tamil stone inscription by which they agreed to be the custodians of the Tooth Relic. The guardianship was given to them by none other than the Mahathera Moggalana, the royal preceptor. The fact that it was written in Tamil indicates the influence the Tamils wielded in the capital (Polonnaruwa) of the Island early in the twelfth century. This is the only well preserved inscription in the whole Island. The first five lines are in Sanskrit and are written in Grantha characters. The remaining lines 44 in number are in Tamil interspersed with Sanskrit words and Grantha characters, as was the custom in South India between the seventh and the fifteenth centuries.

Translation as given in R. A. S. Journal Vol. 29. No. 77 pp. 274, 275 a few paragraphs are here taken.

Svasti Srih: May the Velaikkaras always look after for the good of the world, the Tooth Relic Temple which was built by Deva Senadhipa, at the command of the

king Sri Vijaya Bahu at Pulastipura in Lanka, and the Devales belonging to it which were built by the Velaikkaras. Buddha's name be praised!

The King Sri Sangha Bodhi Varman or Sri Vijaya Bahu Devar, Emperor of the prosperous Island of Lanka, a descendant of Aikshvaku of the Solar dynasty, after defeating many an enemy and entering Anuradhapura, wore the crown with the approval of the priesthood (Sangha) for the purpose of protecting the Buddhist religion.

* * *

The high priest Mugalan, the Raja Guru learned in all the Sastras and Agamas and perfect in the practice of all the virtues, residing at Uturala Mulai, and the ministers of the king having met together sent for us and directed us to accept the custody (of the shrine). We (the members) of the Matantra having met together, having invited the Valenceyer who are our elders, and having assembled those including the city members (Nakarattar) who usually join us (in our deliberations), have given the name of Munrukai Tiruvelaikkaran Daladaya Perumpalli (the great temple of the Tooth Relic of the Velaikkara army of three divisions) (to the shrine) and have appointed one servant out of, and dedicated one 'veli' of land on behalf of, each regiment, so that it may be (considered) our charity institution and under our protection. We shall also protect the villages, servants, and revenues of, and those who take sanctuary in, this shrine, although thereby we may suffer and die. We shall repair all damages and shall always do everything necessary for (the maintenance of) this (shrine) as long as we exist as a body.

* * *

He who contravenes this declaration, or he who induces another to contravene, or he who is guilty of complicity in such contravention, shall enter the hell intended for him who offends against the Matantra, and thus becomes

an enemy of the army, for him who commits the five graver sins, for the cruel sinner who misappropriates the property donated to the gods, spirits (Bhutas), and the priesthood and for him who has offended against the three gems Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha. Forget not charity. Svasti Srih.

Tamil Sailors

The Tamils not only distinguished themselves in the armies of the kings of Ceylon, but also in their fleet. King Moggolana I (A. C. 496—513) was the first to inaugurate a national marine, and as the Sinhalese were very shy of the sea he employed Tamils to man his fleet.* In 1344 Ibn Batuta saw a hundred ships both small and great belonging to King Arya Chakravarti arriving in port on the Coromandel coast with merchandise consigned to the port of Yemen (in Arabia). In the fourteenth century, when King Arya Chakravarti of Jaffna made an attack on Jeyawardanapura or Kotte, the Jaffna fleet took all the ports from Negombo to Panadura and built a new line of defence.

An inscription in the oldest type of Brahmi characters refers to an assembly hall of Tamils in Anuradhapura one of whom is a ship-captain who appears to have been their chief.†

* Sir Emerson Tennet. 'Ceylon' Part 4. Chap. III Page 441.

† Mahavamsa Addendum, Page 307, and R. A. S. XXXV. No 93. (Date: It may belong to any date between 303 B. C.—100 A. C.) pp. 54, 55.

Pearl - Fishing

The Gulf of Mannar was long famous for pearls and the Tamils enjoyed the monopoly of this fishing for many centuries even before Christ. There are many Tamil sayings to indicate that the Tamils were in close touch with pearl-fishing. One is, "If you desire to dive for pearls give the rope in the hands of your brother-in-law". For the fear that his carelessness to the rhythm of the rope may make his sister a widow the brother-in-law becomes the most qualified man to hold the diver's rope.

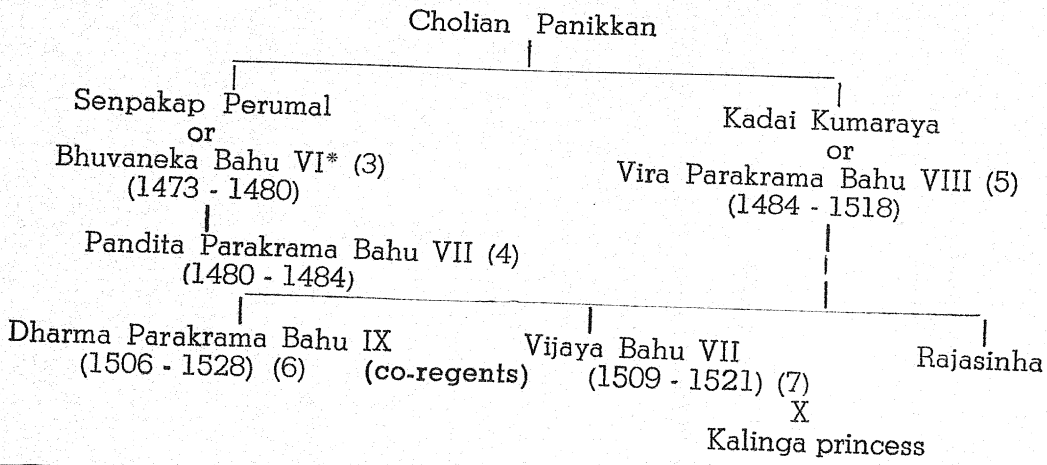
Diole in his book, "4000 years under the Sea" says, "Like the Cretons the Tamils were great divers—the foremost pearl divers in the world." Later he continues: "The junks which in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries carrying the trade between China, India, and the Persian Gulf contained a group of Tamil divers whose duty it was, to inspect the hulls and carry out repairs by daubing holes and cracks with a composition made of sesame and wax."

★

KINGS OF KOTTE

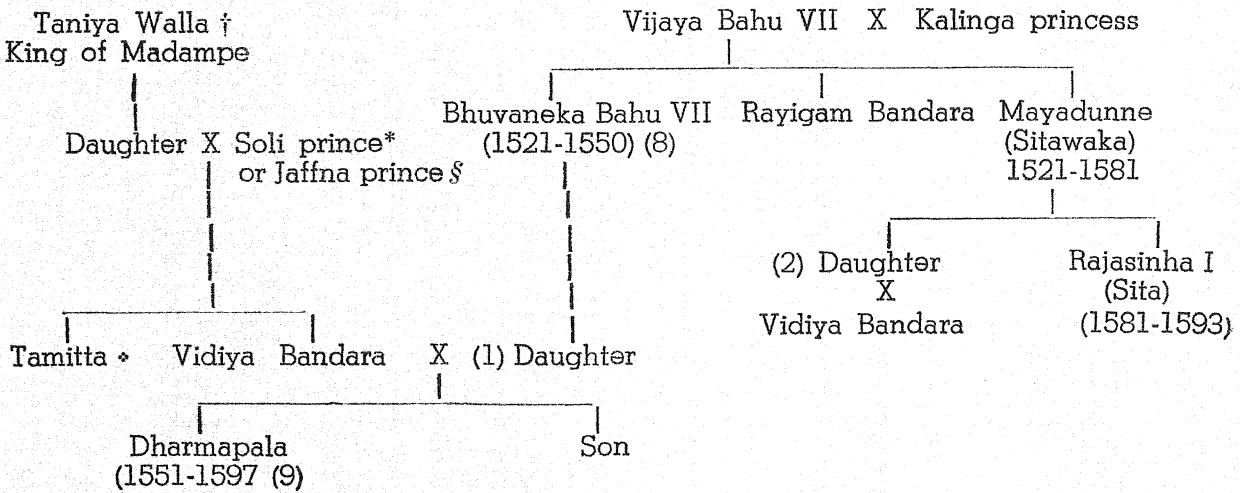
Vijaya Bahu? X Sunetra Devi
| (Tamil princess)
Parakrama Bahu VI X Tamil princess
(1412 - 1468) (1) |
Ulukundali Devi X Cholian prince
|
Jeya Bahu II
(1468 - 1473) (2)

KINGS OF KOTTE (Contd.) TAMIL DYNASTY ?



* King of Jaffna (1450 - 1467)

KINGS OF KOTTE (Contd.)



† Rajavaliya (B. Gun) says that Taniya Walla was the son of Parakrama Bahu VIII by his second queen.

* " " Page 67.

§ Valentyn says, 'Jaffna prince'.

• Grand Chamberlain of Bhuvaneka Bahu VII.

CHAPTER XII

THE INFLUENCE OF THE TAMILS ON THE HISTORY OF CEYLON

SOCIAL LIFE AND ECONOMY

Customary Laws

BEFORE the coming of the Portuguese and the Dutch the customary laws of the Sinhalese did not differ much from the Kandyan law. When we examine the customary laws of the Tamils and the Kandyan law, there seems to be great similarity between the two systems.

The original structure of Sinhalese society was matriarchal, but later the patriarchal system seems to have been imposed. In like manner the Jaffna Tamils have both these systems in the Thesawalamai. Another similarity is the dowry system, which is prevalent among both the communities. In Sinhalese society dowry is given, when the marriage is in 'diga'—wife and children become members of the husband's household.*

The family organization is almost the same in both the communities. In the Sinhalese family system, the father, the father's elder brother, and the father's younger brother are called by the

* The other type is the 'binna' marriage in which the 'binna' married daughter remains in the family of her parents and shares the inheritance with other members of the family

same name with prefixes 'loku' and 'punchi' (big and small). Similarly in the Tamil family the name for the father is prefixed with 'periya' (big) and 'kunchi' or 'sinna' (small) for the uncles. Many of the marriage customs are the same in both the communities. Cross-cousin marriages are encouraged in both the systems and among the Tamils it is almost an obligation. Mr. H. W Thambiah says that the three concepts adoption, joint family, and inheritance may be discussed in Kandyan law with a view to show that the fundamental concepts of Kandyan law and the Customary Laws of the Tamils of Ceylon and India are the same.*

Caste System

The system of caste in Ceylon was not Brahmanical, but the South Indian Dravidian system. The caste system originally prescribed the duties and rights of men according to birth, but in South India and Ceylon castes are traceable to racial or tribal origin also. The tribes which normally followed certain occupations became castes.

The earliest reference about it is found in the Mahavamsa. "Craftsmen and a thousand families of the eighteen guilds" were sent by the Pandu king to his son-in-law Vijaya. Pandukabhaya when he laid out the plan for the city of Anuradhapura, set apart a street for huntsmen and separate quarters for the residence of Brahmans. The Mahavamsa says: "He set five

*The Laws and Customs of the Tamils of Ceylon. H. W. Thambiah Page 144.

hundred Chandalas to the work of cleaning the sewers, one hundred and fifty Chandalas he employed to bear the dead and as many Chandalas to be watchers in the cemetry. For these he built a village north-west of the cemetry and they continually carried out their duty as it was appointed."

Dutugemunu's son Sali had married a woman of a lower caste and therefore, he did not succeed to the throne. Vijaya Bahu I built on Adam's Peak a lower terrace from which people of the so-called lower castes could worship. On the day of the great Bodhi-tree festival there were present the nobles of Kajaragama and the nobles of Candanagama. Referring to Kalinga Magha the Rajavaliya says: "He wrought confusion in castes by reducing to servitude people of high birth in Lanka, raising people of low birth and holding them in high esteem." Many Tamil castes have their counterparts in the Sinhalese social system e. g. Carears - Karawas, Seliyar - Chaligama, Vellalas - Goigamas. In the same manner the washerman, the potter, the blacksmith, the barber and the chunnam-burner have their corresponding Tamil castes. The Kandyan caste system had the authority of the king behind it, whereas the north Indian system was based on varied traditions and was inspired by the ideals of social service and by religious dogmas.

Social Customs and Etiquette

It is interesting to observe that some social customs and social etiquette are more or less

similar among both the communities of the Island.

The barber and the washerman ought to be present at wedding celebrations, puberty ceremony, and at funeral rites. They are given their fixed payment. All those who are invited for the puberty ceremony give presents to the girl.

In all celebrations it is out of etiquette, if one fails to serve betel to a guest. If there be a delay in serving betel, the host apologizes to his guest. It is the practice in all such occasions to have a white colour ceiling to the roof. Whenever there is a procession, some have the 'Nilapavadai' and the 'Maylappu'.†

It is customary, when a kinsman comes to a house to go out of one's house to receive him, and when he leaves, it is the practice to go with him up to the gate. When a junior kinsman and his wife first visit an elder with their baby, it is customary to give them presents. Whenever cash presents are given in all ceremonial occasions, it is placed on betels. When calling upon a woman in confinement, it is the practice to take presents of betel and arecanuts.

When all guests sit at dinner it is wrong to begin to eat without the approval of the company. It is out of etiquette to ask for any-

* The spreading of white cloths for the route of a procession on important ceremonial occasions.

† A canopy of white cloth usually held in processions.

thing one wants on such occasions. It is the duty of the waiters to see to their wants. Soon after meals it is uncivil to get up without the approval of the whole company. They should be served with cigars. cigarettes, and betel and arecanut.

Food preparations of both communities are more or less similar. Beef-eating is a taboo with both the peoples. When cakes or presents are sent in baskets covered with white cloth to a kinsman, it is against custom to return the baskets empty.

At a funeral it is an agelong custom for neighbours and others to do services free. After the funeral they take full baths before entering their respective houses. Cooked meals are sent by near relatives or neighbours to the members of the bereaved household. This system is sometimes continued for weeks when the relatives take turns to send their cooked meals.

Most of the Tamils and Sinhalese have a strong belief in astrology and in omens.

No fees are charged by Ayurvedic physicians for their medicines, but they accept fees when offered.

The New Year, a festival of great importance falls on April 13th or 14th which day is celebrated both by the Tamils and the Sinhalese.*

*It is interesting to note that the New Year celebrated in most of the South-east Asian countries is the Tamil New Year 13th—14th April. In Ceylon during the British period it was termed as Hindu New Year, but now it is called Sinhalese and Tamil New Year.

Many of the national games of the two communities are similar.

Among ancient Sinhalese it was the custom to name a child after the asterism under which it was born. The Tamils even to-day follow that custom to a small extent.

Communal Harmony

The Tamils were equally bounteous in their gifts to Buddhist religious houses as the Sinhalese towards Hindu Devales. The queen of Khudda Parinda one of the Tamil kings of the fifth century is said to have given donations to a Vihara.* Parinda, a predecessor of Khudda Parinda also made donations to a Buddhist monastery according to an inscription at Aragama.† Dathiya, son of Teritara, made donations to Kiri Vihara at Kataragama.‡ Potta Kuttha, who lived during the reign of Agbo IV erected a wonderful practising house called 'Matambiya'. He further erected 'pasadas' in many viharas. The Tamil Mahakanda, a wealthy official in the same reign built a 'parivena' named after him.§ Damiladevi allotted her own revenue to the temple known as Isurumuniya.[1] Kirti Siri Rajasinha revived the ancient influence of Buddhism. Siri Vikrama Rajasinha 1798-1815) is said to have got the wall surround-

* E. Z. IV. Page 114.
† E. Z. IV. Page 113.
‡ E. Z. III. Page 218.
§ Culavamsa (Geiger) Chap. 46. V. 24.
1. R. A. S. XXVI No. 71. Page 145.
Mahavamsa Chap. 35. V. 48.

ing the upper terrace of the Bo-tree built by one of his officers.* In this way many a Tamil king even if they were of the Hindu faith never neglected to attend to the needs of Buddhism in Ceylon.

Agriculture

In the sphere of agriculture the Tamils achieved great success. They inhabited the low dry regions of the North and East of the Island where the soil was loose for cultivation, and where water was available for their crops.† When there was rain during the North-east monsoon, they cultivated rice and during the dry summer they raised 'Kurukkan' and gingili. In areas where water from tanks and rivers was available, they raised two crops annually. These inhabitants mostly took up to mixed-farming and made the best use of the cattle.

Irrigation

The principle of canal-making was practised by the Hindus in as early a period as in Egypt. Canals are mentioned in the Ramayana. Sir Emerson Tennet observes: "It was to Hindu kings who succeeded Vijaya that Ceylon was indebted for the earliest knowledge of agriculture, for the construction of reservoirs, and the practice of irrigation for the cultivation of rice." Brahman

* Guide to Anuradhapura. D. T. Devendra Page 11.

† The tanks of the Northern and the Eastern provinces are known by their Tamil names. Some tanks have their corresponding Sinhalese names, but many have no Sinhalese names. e. g. Pavatkulam.

engineers are mentioned in connection with the construction of tanks. In the reign of Pandukabhaya a Brahman chief engineer Jotiya is mentioned.* An inscription on the rock at Mihintale ascribes to the Malabars (Tamils) the system of apportioning the water for the rice lands, "according to the supply of water in the lake the same shall be distributed to the lands of the Vihara in the manner formerly regulated by the Tamils".

Giants' Tank

Unfortunately the history of irrigation in this country is difficult to trace. In the information given about tanks we do not exactly know whether they were newly constructed or repaired. No one knows the builder of the Giants' Tank. Tradition attributes the building of the tank to the Yakkas. Some chroniclers suggest Agbo I (568—601) as its builder. But Plocamus the Roman refers to a lake Megisba close to the port of Palaesimundus (most probably Matota or Mantai) in the first century A. C. It is evident, that the tank might be a pre-Vijayan work. Another reason is that from the dawn of history the vicinity of Mannar was a thickly populated area. The problem of providing food and water for a super abundant population in an arid zone might have given rise no doubt to the construction of the Giants' Tank. The builders, at first, must have made extra-ordinary works of irrigation to meet their demand and this experience must have gradually spread all over.

* Mahavamsa (Turnour) Chapter X.

Ancient Tank Settlements

According to Mr. Parker, the oldest reservoir of which any information is given in the histories is the ancient tank now in utter disrepair, but is popularly identified by some ruins on the Warya-pola-Chilaw road about a mile and half to the South-east of the modern village of Hettipola. It is supposed to have been built by king Panduwas (444—414 B. C.). The other ancient tanks are the Bassawakulam and Tissawewa near Anuradhapura. The older tank near Hettipola in the opinion of experts is far superior in design. The existence of Munneswaram and Tirukketis-waram ancient celebrated shrines in close proxi-mity to ancient tanks only go to indicate, that these coasts had been colonized at a very early date by a people, who understood rice culti-vation, most probably by people from South India. Piggot, a distinguished authority on pre-historic India, states that the Aryan immigrants into India learnt the art of rice cultivation from the Dravidians. Hence, before the coming of Vijaya, the Tamils of the mainland who were only a few miles from these coasts might have settled in these areas, and carried on their traditional occupation of cultivating rice.

Kantalai Tank

A tank of great beauty and of great anti-quity is the Kantalai tank.* The Sinhalese

* Probably from the Tamil words Kan (கண்) eye + alai (அலை) canal. The word Kan (eye) also means an aperture or opening e. g. Nalu kan mathaku-Four-eyed culvert. Besides, there are Tamil words like 'Paralai' (பரலை) small

chronicles are not difinite about the builder of this tank. On the other hand the 'Konesar Kalveddu' explicitly states that the temple and the tank were built by Kulakoddan (Kulam-tank+koddam-temple) in the Saka era 358 (436 A. C.). He was a Chola prince, who having been urged by a vision repaired to Ceylon, and began erecting the temple. He then built the Kantalai Tank for the purpose of irrigating the vast rice fields of Tambalagamam which were the properties of the temple.

Some Sinhalese historians attribute the building of the tank to Agbo II (601-611 A. C.). In the early seventh century St. Sambandar in his 'Koneswara Pathigam' speaks of Konamalai as a very densely populated place.† Surely there must have been tanks earlier than the seventh century, whose waters should have helped the raising of food crops to sustain a large population of this district. Further the details of the construction of the tank are given in all books dealing with the history of the temple. At first, it is said that Kulakoddan was in search of a spot with a perennial flow of water, and on the advice of his ministers the present site was chosen. The 'woman's bund' seems to have

canal and 'Kaiyalai' (கையலை) secondary canal. The waters of the tank passing through the embankment appear to be gushing out through two apertures. Close to the village of Kantalai the water from the two courses unites itself in a narrow stream. Hence, we have the word Kantalai.

† "குடிதனை நெருங்கிப் பெருக்கமாய் தோன்றுங்
கோணமா மலை யமர்ந்தாரே."

been a later work taken up on after-thought. It was so called, because it was entirely done by women labour. Just as Minneriya is hallowed by the traditions of Mahasen, so Kantalai is hallowed by the traditions of Kulakoddan.

Mr. Thomas Christie, Inspector of hospitals, who accompanied His Excellency the Hon. Frederick North on a journey to Trincomalee in May 1802 records: "The lake or tank of Kantalai is of very great extent, perhaps twenty miles in circumference situated in a valley which is nearly surrounded by mountains of considerable height, and where these do not join, the water is confined by a very strong and thick wall composed of large stones regularly hewn and piled up, which shows that not only an immense deal of well-directed labour must have been employed in this stupendous work, but that the builders must have been well acquainted with the general laws of mechanics. The tank must at one time have been much more considerable than at present, as in many places even the base of the wall is dry and more elevated than the surface of the lake. The wall may be at the highest place be about thirty feet in height, and I think about one hundred and fifty feet in thickness at the base."

A comparison of the tank system of Ceylon with those of South India reveal their similarities. The 'kulams' of Ceylon can be compared to the 'kulams' of Mysore. The 'anicuts' (anicuttu—Tamil) and the 'Alavakkas' of Ceylon can be compared to those of South India. In India there is one 'Chola Samudram'; here

there is 'Parakrama Samudram'. The canals that take the waters from our Samudram bear the names of Indian rivers like Godaveri, Sarasvati etc.

Land Tenure System

The land tenures among the Sinhalese in the Kandyan provinces, and the maritime provinces differ slightly from those of the Tamil districts. The customs and laws of land tenures are analogous to those of South India, but more closely resembles those of Malayalam. Some of the terms are preponderantly Tamil.* Paraveni (inheritance) cannot be traced beyond the Chola conquest of the eleventh century.† 'Karaya', Kara (Sinh)—Karaiyidu is found in the Tanjore District. It means that one land is cultivated in common according to shares.

* The following terms are worthy to be noted for their similarities.

Panguava	(Sinhalese)	Pangu	(Tamil)
Pangukaraya	,,	Pangukarar	,,
Ninda	,,	Nindam	,,
Uliam	,,	Uliam	,,
Patta	,,	Pattam	,, rent in the Tinnevelly Dist.
Badda	,,	Pattam (Malayalam)	assessment tax
Nilakarayo	,,	Nilai (fixed-Tamil)	
Anilakarayo	,,	a (negative form in Tamil)	
Melatsi	,,	Meladsi (Tamil)	
Uliyam pangu	,,	Uliyam	,,
Ulappuva	,,	Ulaippu	,,

† Ancient Land Tenure and Revenue in Ceylon. H. W. Codrington Page 12.

Arts and Crafts

The Tamils were giving their best towards the economic welfare of the state in the long period of our Island's story. As mentioned earlier "Craftsmen and a thousand families of the eighteen guilds",* came to Ceylon with Vijaya's queen from the city of Madura. All these people contributed in no small measure to the growth of the indigenous arts and crafts. The Mahavamsa mentions that Queen Anula (12—16 A. C.) married 'Damila Vatuka, who had been a city carpenter in the capital'.† Mention is made of a deity 'Kammara Deva' God of the

* Mahavamsa (Geiger) Chap. VII. V. 57.

Eighteen guilds
Kuddimakkal
or
Children of the
Commune

1. Goldsmiths—தட்டார்
2. Brassfounders—கன்னர்
3. Carpenters—தச்சர்
4. Blacksmiths—கொல்லர்
5. Stone-cutters—கல்தச்சர்
6. Potters—குயவர்
7. Tailors—பாணர்
8. Shopkeepers—வர்த்தகர்
9. Oil-makers—வாணிபர்
10. Watchmen—காவற்காரர்
11. Game-keepers
12. Washermen—வண்ணர்
13. Barbers—நாவிதர்
14. Fruit-sellers—பழக்காரர்
15. Flower-sellers—பூமாலைக்காரர்
16. Those who blow chanks—வீரக்குடியர்
17. Those who announce marriages and deaths—ஓச்சர்
18. Those who burn the dead—வெட்டியார்

Nigandu.

† Mahavamsa (Geiger) Chap. 34. V. 57.

blacksmiths in the reign of Devampiya Tissa Kammara Deva is Tamil 'Kammalathevan'. Probably these smiths were Tamils, who even to-day follow their ancient custom of having a separate deity of their own for worship.

A Tamil inscription probably of the early twelfth century found in the Kurunegala District (E. Z. III pp 302—312) records the settlement of a dispute between washermen and blacksmiths. This only indicates the fact that there were Tamil artisans in Sinhalese areas. It further demonstrates the extent of Tamil settlements.

Kings like Devanampiya Tissa employed weavers from South India for weaving gold tissues for the royal household.* The fine cotton fabrics of Madura has long been famous as to be mentioned by Kautilya in his 'Arthasastra'. Such were the traditions of the weavers, who came to Ceylon. Therefore, it is no surprise to learn that in the fourth century A. C., the queen of Mihira Kula, the king of Kashmir, wore a tissue of extremely fine texture which was sent by the king of Sinhala. As already mentioned, the embassy that went to China in the seventh century A. C. took with them forty webs of fine cotton cloth.

Besides these factors, the Nagas, one of the components which helped the formation of the Sinhalese race, were themselves great artisans. Their traditional culture must have been imbibed

* 'Ceylon', Sir Emerson Tennet Part 4, Chap. IV, Page 453

by the Sinhalese. All these influences have contributed to the development of the indigenous arts and crafts of the Island. If the Sinhalese had not been a nation of shop-keepers, they had at least been a nation of skilful craftsmen.

Trade & Commerce, Anuradhapura Period

The trade and commerce of the Tamils in the pre-Vijayan period have already been considered. The Mahavamsa, when it relates of the early kings of Ceylon in the second century B. C. says: "Two Damilas Sena and Guttika, sons of a freighter, who brought horses hither, conquered the king Suratissa at the head of a great army and reigned together for twenty years justly". The power of Tamil traders was such as to overthrow ruling monarchs.

During the time of king Elala there was a chief merchant named Kundali, a Brahman who had merchandise from overseas. Brahmans in those days were not only priests, but took to trade also, and they formed the most respectable community in the village. These Brahmans must have come from the Tamil country.

Greeks, Romans, and Tamils

Direct trade between the Romans and Ceylon existed during the early Anuradhapura period. This fact is proved by the writings of the Romans, the Greeks, the Sangam works, and by the discovery of a large number of Roman coins in various parts of the Island. The majority of the Roman coins belong to the third and fourth century A. C. At this time the north-western

parts were controlled by the Tamils and these were resorted to for the disposal of the goods from South Ceylon.

Pliny records of a city Palaesimundus on a river of the same name. Most probably he refers to a city on the river Palavi. As the city of Mantai or Matota stood on the river Palavi, it might have been referred to as Palavi Mundal or Palavi mundus. There are even to-day several promontaries along the coasts from Kalpitiya to Kalmunai in Punakari called by the name 'Mundal'. A promontary in Pallavarayankattu is to-day known as 'Pisasu Mundal' (Devil's Point). Further South there is a place known as 'Mundampiddi'. In Kalpitiya there is a place known as 'Kirimundal'. The lake south of Puttalam is known as Mundal lake.

Most probably the 'v' in Palavi is replaced by the 'es' by the Roman, and hence, 'Palaesi mundus' for the city of Matota. Further, Pliny refers to a lake Megisba close to the city. Probably he refers to the Giants' Tank (Tamil - Mahavavi).

Later Greek and Roman writers after Pliny give graphic descriptions of the North-west coasts of Ceylon and the Coromandel coasts. It is interesting to note that some place names referred to by Ptolemy in 150 A. C. are more or less similar to the place names of to-day. Before 1830 the district of Vidattaltivu was known as Pringally. The mainland opposite to the island of Mannar is still called Perunkalipattu. Ptolemy refers to a district 'Paralia'.[1]

Ptolemy names the sea north of Rameswaram as Orgalic Gulf which corresponds to the Tamil word 'Arkali' (resounding sea). He states in one of his records: 'After this there is the place called Komar (Cape Comorin) where there is a fort, a temple, and a harbour where also people come to bathe and purify

themselves.....it is related that the goddess was once accustomed to bathe there." Hindus still bathe there in the sacred waters and worship at the temple of Uma or Sivakami.

The unknown author of Periplus speaks of the Indian coasts as 'Damurike' which denotes Tamilakam —the Tamil country.

Tamil place names in the writings of Greek and Roman authors prove, that the Tamils inhabited the north and north-western coasts of Ceylon at such an early age as during the time of the first century after Christ. Hence, the foreigners who came to these coasts heard those names from the lips of Tamil traders and sailors.

The trade with the Romans seems to have ended by the end of the fourth century. After this period the Romans carried on their trade with Ceylon through the Persians. The Arabs and the Persians from the West, the Tamils from the Indian coasts and the Chinese from the East met at the ports of the north-western coasts in order to exchange their merchandise. The Persians brought horses; the chinese brought silk and camphor. In return these traders took from Ceylon ivory, pearls, and rubies.

Cosmas

Cosmas Indicopleustes, a Greek traveller of the sixth century, describing the trade of Ceylon says: "There are two kings on the Island and they are at enmity with one another. The one possesses the hyacinth, and the other has the other part in which is the great place of commerce and the chief harbour. It is a great

mart* for the people of those parts. From all India and Persia and Ethiopia many ships come to this Island and it likewise sends out many of its own occupying as it does a kind of Central position..... The exports to Taprobane are silk, aloes-wood cloves, sandal-wood and so forth according to the products of each place.....and the Island receives imports again from all those marts that I have been mentioning, and passes them on to the remoter ports, whilst at the same time it exports its own produce in both directions." †

The one possessing the hyacinth is the king of Anuradhapura, and the other is the king of Jaffna under whom the great port of Matota flourished. Sir Emerson Tennet has also expressed the opinion that the port referred to was Matota and it was in the possession of the king of Jaffna. We may gather that in those uncertain times the Tamil kingdom of Jaffna flourished though in rivalry with that of the Sinhalese.

St. Sundarar, who lived in the seventh century in his Tirukketiswara Pathigam says: "The good city of Matota whose harbour abounds in ships." ‡

After the Arabs overran Persia the commercial intercourse between Ceylon and Persia ceased to exist.

* Vide Ptolemy's map of Ceylon. Matota-Modouttou mart.

† Yule's translation concerning Taprobane.

‡ வங்கம் மலிகின்ற கடல் மாதோட்ட நன்னகர்.

In the ninth and early tenth centuries there seems to have been no trade intercourse with China.

In the time of Mahinda V (981-1017) it was a Tamil merchant dealer in horses, who conveyed to Rajaraja, the Chola king, of the disturbed political conditions of the Island.*

All these facts indicate the part played by Tamil traders in the commerce of the Island during the Anuradhapura period.

Post-Anuradhapura Period

During this period the export and import trade of the Island was mostly shared by the Muslims and the Tamils. About the tenth century the Muslims established trade settlements in Ceylon. This is confirmed by the discovery of Arab inscriptions in Colombo,† Trincomalee, and the island of Puliantivu.‡ Ibn Batuta has stated in the fourteenth century that there was a Muhammadan pirate with an Abyssinian garrison in Colombo. The baobab trees of African origin that are found in Mannar, remind us of Muslim settlements in those parts.

The trade rivalry between the Tamils and the Muslims in the low country in the latter part of the fourteenth century, was one of the reasons for the invasion of the low country by Arya Chakravarti of Jaffna

* Culavamsa (Geiger) Chap. 55, V. 13.

† R. A. S. Vol. I. Page 538.

‡ A. S. C. Annual Report for 1912-13. Page 8.

The author of 'Kokila Sandesa', a Sinhalese book, written after the conquest of Jaffna says, "From thence you go to Veligama' where is a market forming a street there are Viscoule (chetties) selling precious stones, and some chattering women of the sect of Junes (Moors) teaching parrots to talk.*

During the Portuguese period a tax "Xaro de Chetivary"† (Seddivari-tax of the shop-keepers) was collected in Galle. From these it is clear that the Chetties (Tamil merchants) were rivals to the Muslims in the trade of Ceylon.

Of the Tamils, the Chetties, being traders, were the first to settle down in large numbers in the city of Colombo. This view is attested by the Tamil names of roads as Chetty Street, New Chetty Street, Chekku Street (Oil-mills Street) and Bankshall Street.‡

Trade with China and Persia

After the middle of the tenth century trade with China seems to have been revived. There seems to have been a Chinese settlement at "Chinan Kovil" in the island of Kayts. The

* Joinville Translation of Kokila Sandesa. Historical Journal Vol. 3. Nos. 3 and 4. Page 260.

† Ancient Land Tenure system and Revenue in Ceylon—H. W. Codrington Page 48.

‡ Pandaka Salai—Stores buildings (Tamil).

Kelani river is mentioned by the Portuguese as Matual river. The name "Matual" (which still survives in Mutwal) was incorrectly applied by the Portuguese to the river from hearing its mouth spoken by the Tamils as Muhathuvaram"

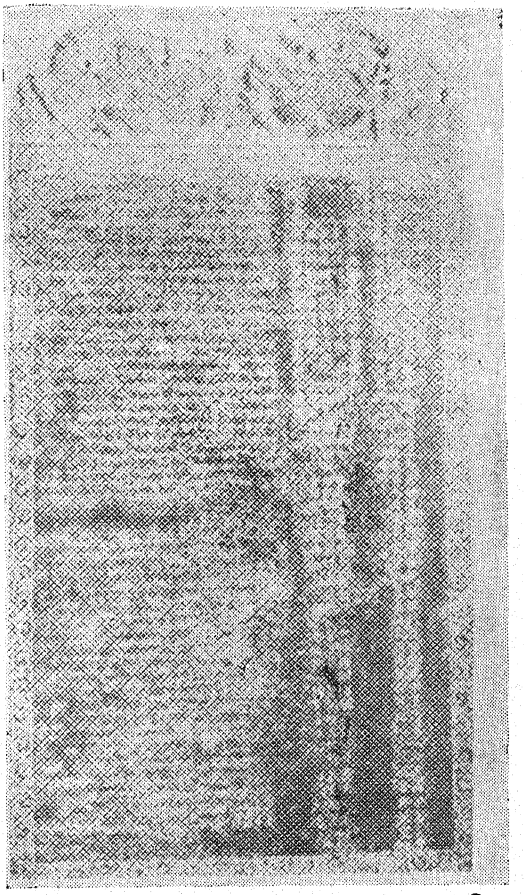
South Indian attempt to check the growing influence of Chinese trade in the Indian Ocean provoked the Chinese to carry out a series of raids in India and Ceylon. One such raid took place in South Ceylon about the year 1410.

One year before this incident the Chinese left behind a tri-lingual inscription on a rock at Galle in Chinese, Persian, and in Tamil.* This lithic records that His Majesty the Emperor of the great Ming Dynasty had despatched the eunuchs Ching—HO, Wang—Ching—Lieu, and others set forth his utterance before Lord Buddha the world Honoured One. It is a unique sermon in stone. Its version in Tamil records the offering of gifts to Tamil deities. It is not known why the Chinese preferred to write that inscription in Tamil and not in Sinhalese. Was Tamil the court language of Kotte at that time? Were the Chinese influenced by the international status of Tamil during that period?

The fact that the inscription was in Persian indicates the presence of Persians in Galle at that time. Ibn Batuta says that the Jaffna king Arya Chakravarti was proficient in the Persian language. We are also told that the king was personally interested in the cinnamon trade of the Island. All these indicate that the Persians had revived their trade relations after the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

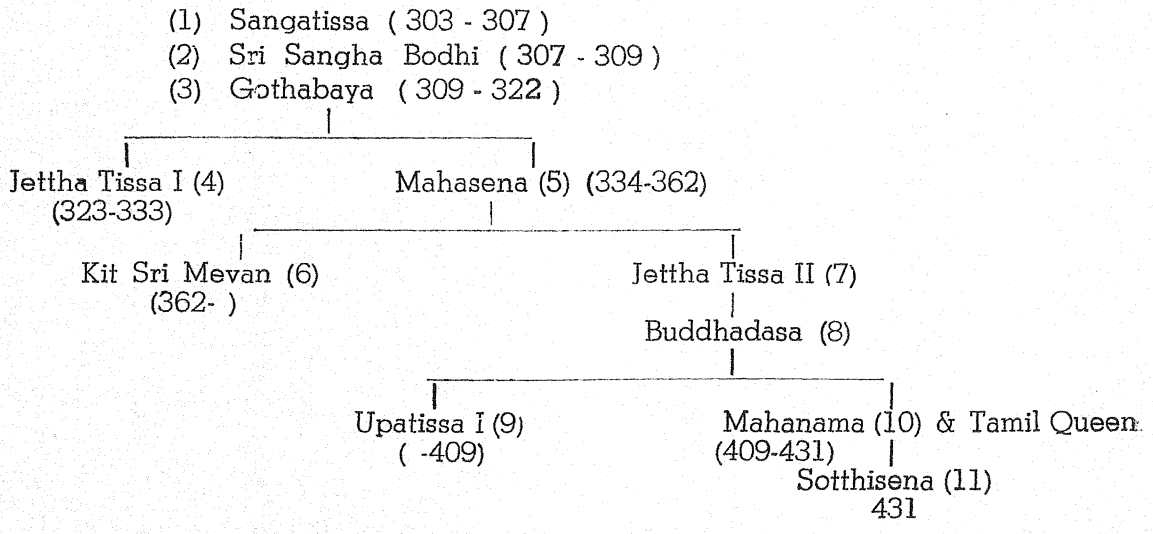
Thus from the days of Sena and Guttika to the present day the Tamils were playing an important role in the economic life of the country.

* The discovery of the Galle Tri-lingual inscription was first announced to the public on March 30, 1911.



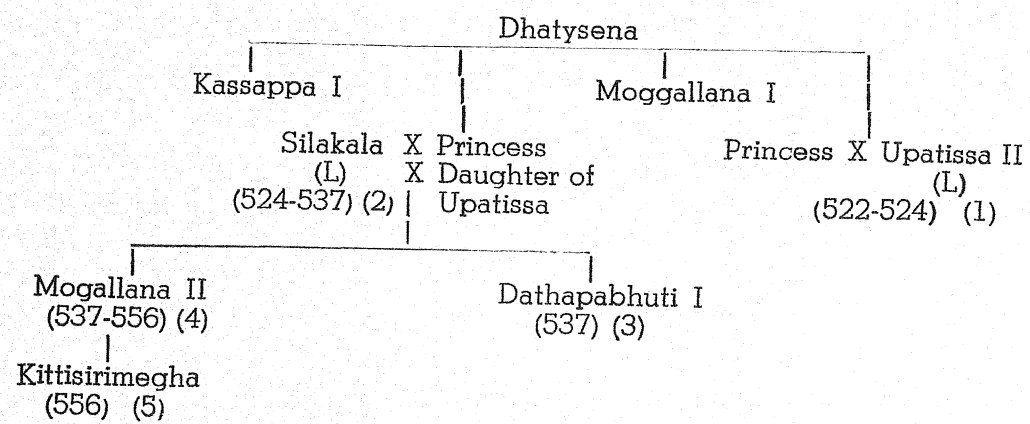
Galle Tri-lingual stone slab in Chinese, Persian and Tamil. It indicates the influence the Tamils had in Galle early in the fifteenth century. It confirms the presence of Tamil traders in Galle which was then a great port of call.

LAMBAKANNA RULERS A. C. 303 - 431 (2)



Nos. 6, 7, 8 and 9 ruled between 362-409.
From 431-460. Rule of the Tamils.

LAMBAKANNA RULERS (3) (522 - 556) Page 88



CHAPTER XIII

THE INFLUENCE OF THE TAMILS ON THE HISTORY OF CEYLON

CULTURAL FIELD

Famous Tamil Buddhist Missionaries

DURING the reign of Voharika Tissa (A. C. 269 - 291) some Vaitulyans from India came to Ceylon. Their new doctrine Mahayana Buddhism became popular with the monks of Abhayagiri. The king, a Theravadin and one who supported the Maha Vihara, suppressed the Vaitulyans and their activities. Afterwards, early in the fourth century during the reign of Gothabhaya (A. C. 309 - 322) the monks of the Abhayagiri began to assert themselves again. Gothabhaya, who was an opponent of the Vaitulyans, suppressed them, burnt their books, and exiled sixty of their leaders from the Island.

At this time Sangamitta, a learned Tamil Buddhist monk of the Chola country,* heard of the pathetic condition of these exiled monks. He was so greatly moved by their sufferings that he planned the conquest of the Island for Mahayanism. Gothabhaya was very much taken up by this new scholar, and he appointed him a tutor

* Mahavamsa (Geiger) Chap. XXXVI, v. 113.

to his two sons Jettha Tissa and Mahasena. The younger Mahasena became his favourite pupil.

After their father's death Jettha Tissa (A C. 323—333) ascended the throne, and ruled for ten years. During this period Sangamitta was out of the Island, but returned, when Mahasena ascended the throne. He became one of the chief advisers of the king, and soon established the new doctrine firmly in Ceylon. Mahinda, the Maurya prince, brought Buddhism to Ceylon; Buddhaghosa, a Brahman Buddhist monk, expounded it; then a Tamil Buddhist monk Sanghamitta made the people of Lanka practise it.

In this connection it should be mentioned that a great Tamil Buddhist missionary Podhi Tharmar reached Canton in 520 A. C., and founded a new sect in China. His followers were known as the Chou sect. The Chinese call this new teacher Tamo. There are temples dedicated to this saint in China and Japan. He is considered as one of the twenty eight saints of China.

Another Tamil Buddhist monk Vachira Bodhi (A. C. 661—730) took the Tantric school of Buddhism to China. Narasimha Varman II, the Pallava king, helped him to travel to China. There he translated the Buddhist texts into Chinese. Thus, Tamil traders and sailors in that early period were helping great teachers in their cultural conquest of the East.

Tamil Authors

Vatsyayana, the author 'Nyaya Bashya', was a Tamil of Kanci, and lived in the early fifth century.* The Buddhistic legendary poem the

* Ancient Jaffna Page 241.

Asadrisa Jataka was written by king Rajadhi Rajasinha of Kandy.* Panchatantiram was translated into Sinhalese by Namasivaya Mudaliyar. The author of the Pali grammar Rupa Siddhi probably seems to be a Tamil,† from the following passage from Rupa Siddhi. "A certain disciple of Anando, a preceptor who was a (rallying point) unto eminent preceptors like unto a standard in Tambapanni named Dipankaro, renowned in the Damila kingdom (of Chola) and the resident superior of two fraternities there the Baladichcha (and the Chudamani - Yako) caused the religion (of Buddho) to shine forth. He was the priest, who obtained the appellation of the Buddha biyo (the delight of Buddho) and compiled this perfect "Rupa Siddhi."

Tamil in the Sinhalese Court

The gradual Tamilisation of the Sinhalese Court by marriage alliances with Kalinga and Pandyan royal families especially from the time of Mahinda IV (956-972) had one effect. There came into the Sinhalese Court a preponderating Tamil element. The cultural influence of the Court had its own effect on Sinhalese society as a whole. Brahmans flocked to the Courts, and their influence was considerable. In such a social atmosphere there grew up a great measure of religious tolerance.

The Tamil language became more popular in the Sinhalese Courts at Kotte and Kandy. In

* R. A. S. Vol. XIV. No. 46. Page 40.

† R. A. S. do do Page 38.

the early years of our history the Sinhalese language was not fully developed and hence, the kings who ruled the Island encouraged the production of Tamil literary works. As mentioned earlier, 'Sarajoti Malai' was recited by Posa Raja, a Brahman at the court of Parakrama Bahu III. Prince Vijayapala wrote letters to his brother king Raja Sinha II in Tamil.* Bhuvaneka Bahu VII of Kotte made all his attestations in Tamil. The Portuguese chronicles call Dharmapala, Periya Pandaram (Tamil), and not Maha Bandara (Sinh). King Kirti Sri Raja Sinha's correspondence written in Tamil are at the Government Archives at Nuwara Eliya. A treaty written between king Kirti Sri and Louis XVI of France was written in Tamil in which it was stated that "in order that the friendship may continue unbroken we have given over on the 2nd day of Masi (February - March), in the Saka era 1699 (1777 A. C.) to St. Louis, the Maharaja of France, as a donation the District of Batticaloa,"—the extent being detailed in the continuation. A copy of the treaty was found among the King's papers in Kandy. Mr. Bickmore found the original at Pondicherry.† Thus it will be found that Tamil had an acknowledged status in the Courts of the kings of Kandy and those of Kotte.

Prevalence of Tamil

Tamil lithic records of the earlier periods of our history have from time to time been un-

* Ceylon The Portuguese Era II. Page 359.

† R. A. S. Vol. XXXIII. No. 87. Page 42.

earthed from all parts of the Island.* All these records are indications of the status the Tamil language enjoyed in the Courts and in the capitals of the Island. They confirm that historically the Tamils were an integral part of Ceylon from time immemorial, and that a large portion of this country was Tamil speaking.

Mr. W. A. De Silva has mentioned, that the 'Ramayana' and 'Harischandra' were composed by Sinhalese poets, who owe their inspiration to the Tamil version. † Seven eighths of the charms belonging to Sinhalese necromancy are in the Tamil language. The Sinhalese are indebted to the Tamils for the various branches of the black arts. Most of these books are in Tamil. But the Bali ceremonies have no analogy in the Tamil land and are altogether indigenous.

In the long process of history, Tamil became the mother tongue of the Muhammadans who had made their settlements in various parts of the Island since the ninth century.

By the presence of a large Tamil population and the Chola rule the Sinhalese vocabulary came to be enriched by a large number of Tamil words.

The Chola conquest of Ceylon gave great impetus to the study of Sanskrit by the Sinha-

* Tamil inscriptions were found in: Anuradhapura, Budumuttawa, Chilaw, Galle, Gampola, Kurunegala, Kotagama, Kompanammalai, Nainativu, Padawiya, Palamottai, Polonnaruwa, Tirukovil, Trincomalee etc.

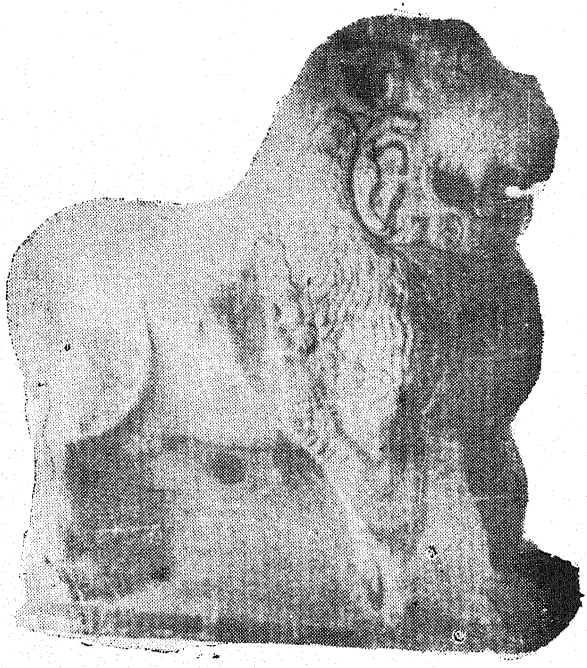
† R. A. S. Vol. XXIV. No. 68. Page 51.

lese. Before their occupation there was a lukewarm interest for Sanskrit learning, but with the spread of Hinduism and the presence of a large number of Brahmans in the country the study of Sanskrit received a great impetus in the Island. Sanskrit was the language of culture. It had a prestige in society. At that time the study of Sanskrit was the gateway to a whole new world of thought. Literary men viewed that mixed Sinhalese was a better and vigorous medium to express their ideas. Very many new works began to be produced in Sinhalese. Message poems like 'Sandesa' is an imitation of Kalidasa's works. Some Sinhalese authors wrote books on philosophy and on grammar. The birth of new learning produced works on lexicography and on medicine. The kings of Ceylon studied Indian works on polity such as that of Kautilya and the laws of Manu. Another impetus to the study of Sanskrit was the Vaitulya Vada, which was expounded in Sanskrit. On the other hand the Theravada doctrine was in Pali.

Music

Vijaya on the very day he landed in Ceylon heard songs and music in the city Srivata. In medieval times halls were set apart by kings for the propagation of music. The music as has been handed down consisted of the 'horanava' and a variety of drums.

The modern Sinhalese song began with the dramas of John Silva. The airs to which he set his songs were mostly from the Indian Visvanath Laugi. In the songs of the modern period we find Tamil, Telugu, and Hindustani



Lion throne of Nissanka Malla—Pallava influence.

influence. "In a Sinhalese manuscript on music", says Mr. Mahawalatenne Bandar, "a certain chief Thero in ancient times sent messengers with rich presents to one Ganitalankara Achariya, a teacher of music at Nagapatuna, in Jambudwipa and obtained from him a book on music which the said Thero is said to have translated into Sinhalese verse, naming it the 'Wadankusa – ratnamala'. The 'pada' in this book are almost all in the Tamil language, with a mixture of Telugu words and words of other Indian dialects."* In this manner Sinhalese song and music were influenced by South India.

Architecture and Sculpture

The sculptors and builders of ancient monuments in Ceylon were mostly from the mainland. King Elala in the second century B. C. was the first to use stones in the building of the fort at Vijitanagara. It had gates wrought of iron. Though the Pallavas did not make attempts of conquering Ceylon, yet their influence in architecture and sculpture are noticeable. The Nalanda Gedige and the lion throne of Nissanka Malla are in the Pallava style of architecture and sculpture. The elephants, the man and the horse's head at Isurumuniya both reveal Pallava influence.

In the building of domes and in the carving of figures, the Polonnaruwa monuments have been influenced by the Chola style. The shrine rooms built by Parakrama Bahu I and Nissanka Malla

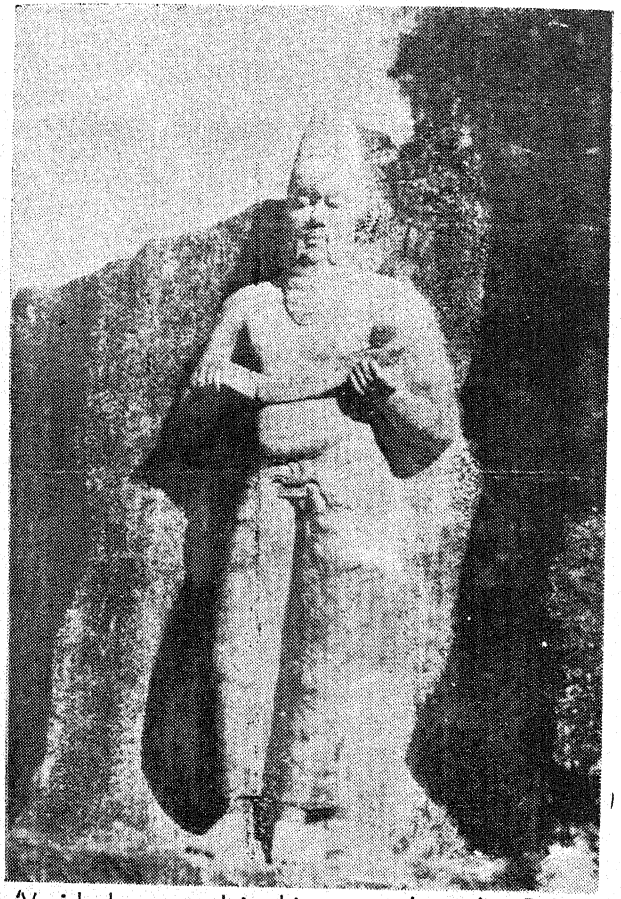
* R A. S. Vol. XXI No. 61. Page 133.

at Polonnaruwa resemble the South Indian temples. The niches of the Jetavanraama Vihara and the Lankatilaka Vihara have statues unlike those of their prototypes. The absence of the bull in the moonstones of Polonnaruwa is remarkable, for the bull was a sacred animal to the Hindus.

The stairway of the Dalada Maligawa at Yapahu has Pandyan influence. The Gadaladeniya Vihara was built on a flat rock of Dikgala in the reign of Bhuvaneka Bahu IV by Thera Dharmakiti with the help of a South Indian architect called Ganesavaracari. At Mihintale Naga figures in human form are found on some of the stelae. In these the early influence of the Amaravati school can be detected. The pleasing group of a man and a woman known as the 'Two Lovers' at Isurumuniya seems to have the influence of the Gupta period. They resemble Siva and his consort Parvati as represented in Nagaraja and his consort, in Ajanta. The circular 'Tiruvasi' is seen behind the two images. It is probable that the Tamil kings who ruled at Anuradhapura in the fifth century for a continuous period of twenty seven years might have caused these images to be executed.

Temples for Siva

The Siva Devale No. 1 at Polonnaruwa had a slab set up by the order of king Gaja Bahu II (1137-1153). It belongs to the style of Pandyan architecture. It is all of carved stone beautifully worked out. The stones used for the building of the temple seems to be not of a variety found in or near Polonnaruwa. The 'Vimana' was of



'Vanished sages enshrined in song and story' at Polonnaruwa—Tamil equivalent, Pulastiya Nagaram 'City of Pulastiya'. Is he the Guardian of the City?

bricks. "In almost every detail", says Farrer, "the thing is perfect and perhaps it is more than fancy that finds Hellenic memories in the purity of its line and the perfection of its proportions. Tradition calls this lovely jewel of stone work the Dalada Maligawa of Polonnaruwa, asserting that this was the shrine of the Tooth Relic. Tradition here lies for this temple is not Sinhalese, but Tamil of the finest, it is not Buddhist but Hindu, it is not a shrine of the Tooth Relic, but a temple of Siva, the Destroyer. The Tooth Relic, we know, was treasured in the Wata-da-ge and in all probability this Saivite shrine so beautiful and ornate, is some family chapel of Parakrama Bahu the Great, who for all his cult of Buddhism and its ancient monuments never swerved from the faith of his ancestors."

Siva Divale No. 2 is the only monument of Polonnaruwa in stone. It is of the eleventh century and represents Chola architecture at its best.

Stone Image near Pot Gal Vihara

The Polonnaruwa period saw the making of some exceptional pieces of statuary. The huge stone image facing Pot Gal Vihara has a dignified bearing and a vitality that is wanting in any other sculpture of Ceylon. There is an air of culture and a scholarly grace in the image. The long loose ear-lobes indicate that it represents an Indian and not a Sinhalese. The head with the tufted hair is looking into his palm-leaf book. Some writers have suggested that the image is holding a balance, but to all appear-

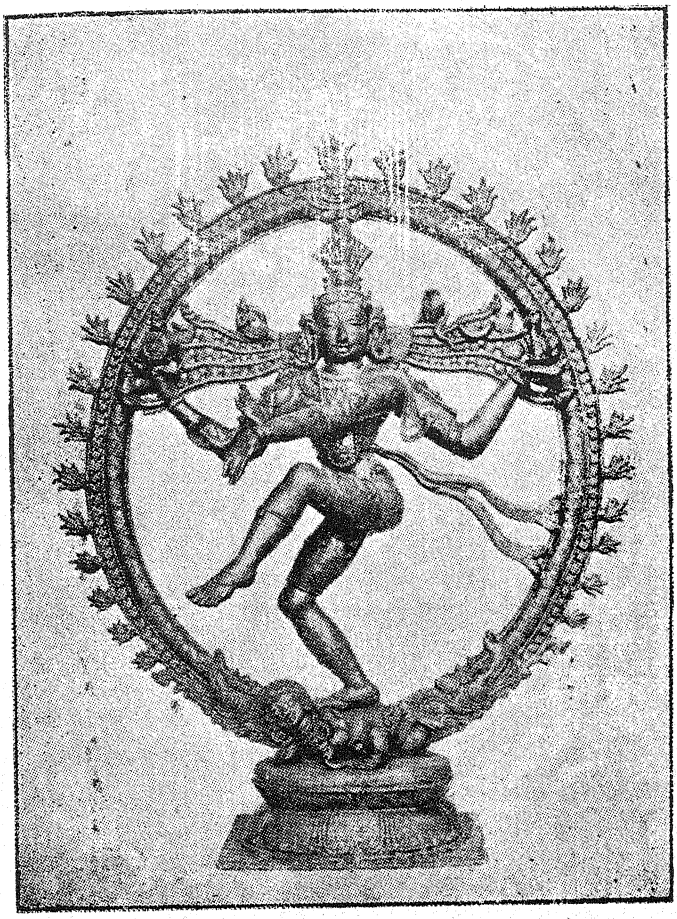
ance we can safely state that it is not a balance. The general expression is that of a sage. It is similar to the statue of Agastiya found in Java. Besides, the name of the city helps one to identify the statue. The Mahavamsa calls Polonnaruwa as Pulatthinagara and the Tamil equivalent is Pulastiya Nagaram-- city of Pulastiya, the maternal grandfather of Ravana. It was one of the ancient celebrated cities of the Yakkas according to Mr. Parker. As the sage's name is linked up with the city, in all probability the townsmen of Polonnaruwa erected a statue to comemorate the memory of Pulastiya, their beloved sage.

In the year 1907 and 1908 the late Archaeological Commissioner Mr. H. C. P. Bell, while pursuing his excavations of the 'buried city' of Polonnaruwa discovered many bronze images used in Siva worship in the precincts of Siva Devale No. 1 and of Siva Devale No. 5.* Many of these finds belong to the Chola period of South Indian history, when Hindu-Dravidian style of architecture and sculpture was at its best.

Image of Nadaraja

The Polonnaruwa image depicting the cosmic dance of Lord Nadaraja is an expression of the highest imagination and ingenuity of the great Tamil artists who with balance, rhythm, and symbolism executed the highest conception of the Infinite. The dance of Siva symbolized in Nadaraja bronzes is best expressed by St. Manickkavasagar in one of his psalms (Kirtti-tiruvakaval).

* R. A. S. XXIV No. 68 Page 189.



Nata-rajah is a favourite symbol of Siva worship in the Tamil land of South India and Ceylon. It is a synthesis of Science, Religion and Art.



"The holy feet, that danced in the ancient city
Of Tillai, dance in all living things,
In beauty of infinite diversity shining,
Making, unmaking, earth and heaven
And worlds celestial and hosts of sciences,
Driving away my darkness and taking up
Loving abode in the hearts of his servants."*
[Dr. Pope]

The dance of Siva is further expressed in the subjective experience of a devotee, who has got rid of the three-fold taint (Egoism, Karma and Maya). Tayumanavar says of this experience "O God, Ocean of Mercy, that dancest the dance of bliss in the Hall of pure Consciousness beyond the plane of thought."†

Thus Hindu art developed in the wake of religion. It was its handmaid. It was not an imitation of life, but life had to be an imitation of art. Hindu art was ideal, social, and hieratic. It had a symbolism, which is the symbolism of all the scriptures.

* தில்லை மூதூராடிய திருவடி
பல்லுயி ரெல்லாம் பயின்றனைகி
எண்ணில் பல்குணம் எழில்பெற விளங்கி
மண்ணும் விண்ணும் வானே ருலகுந்
துன்னிய கல்வி தோற்றியும் அழித்தும்
என்னுடை யிருளே லறத் துரந்தும்
அடியா ருள்ளத் தன்பு மீதூரக்
குடியா கொண்ட கொள்கையும் சிறப்பும்.
Manickkavasaga Swami.

† கருதரிய சிற்சபையி லானந்த நிர்த்தமிடு
கருணை கரக் கடவுளே.
Tayumanava Swami.

Statue of St. Sundarar

St. Sundarar is one of the chief saints and poet of Saivism in Tamil land. On the day of his wedding, Siva came in the guise of an old Brahman, and claimed him as his servant by virtue of an old bond. There were violent disputes on the subject. The bridegroom was then led to an adjoining village, and later to a temple where Siva appeared to him in his divine form. In this bronze piece the artist has portrayed the enraptured devotee at the moment of his subjective experience. He has fully expressed the inner consciousness of the great mystic, who drowns himself in bliss, that wells from a Divine Union.

There may be bronze art pieces in all civilized countries which depict beauty of form, or balance and rhythm, or feeling and action, but it is rare to find bronze art pieces which portray the eternal craving of the human mind—the search for Truth. The Tamil artists of old never lost their ideal. They strove to portray the highest ideal to be attained by man. The 'Dance of Siva' is a synthesis of Science, Religion, and Art. In the statue of St. Sundarar, the noblest super-conscious state of a mystic is portrayed in a manner unique in itself.

The Dravidian influence on architecture and sculpture in Ceylon have been continuing right through the centuries and even to-day Tamil artisans create beauty with chisel and hammer at the Dalada Maligawa, in the Ceylon university, and at Anuradhapura.

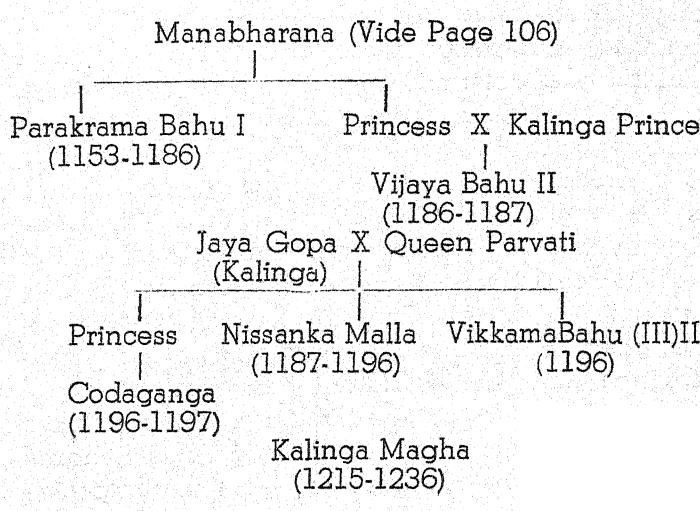


Sundara Murthi—a devotee of Siva struck with wonder and awe at the unexpected vision of Siva.

Briefly in the long period of our history, the Hindu - Dravidian culture was one of those that successfully integrated with the Sinhalese culture. Many reasons could be given for this integration. In the first place the basic culture of the two peoples had one common origin. The elements that went to form each cultural unit blended automatically with the elements of the other. Further the two cultures were passive. Therefore in the great historical process of two thousand five hundred years the Hindu - Dravidian culture permeated every sphere of the lives of the Sinhalese people.

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KALINGA RULERS



CHAPTER XIV

THE INFLUENCE OF HINDUISM ON THE HISTORY OF CEYLON

CEYLON in the course of her long history has been influenced by the waves of culture that originated in the sub-continent of India. During the Asokan period, when Buddhism came to Ceylon, the basic culture of the people was Hinduism. The new faith was built on the old Hindu religious beliefs and practices.

The Influence of Brahmans

As mentioned earlier there were Brahmans in Ceylon from very ancient times, and their presence in large numbers in the Courts of the kings must have had a tremendous effect on Buddhism and its practices. Upatissa, a Brahman wielded the sceptre from the death of Vijaya until the arrival of Panduvasudeva. In the fourth century B. C. Pandukabhaya was left in charge of a Brahman Pandula, a rich man and learned in the Vedas, for his early education. Brahman Tivakka was the second after the king to receive the Bo-tree, when it was first landed in the northern coasts of Ceylon. At the festival of the great Bodhi-tree, besides the great Thera Mahinda and the bhikkhuni Sanghamitta special mention is made of the Brahman Tivakka. Five hundred bhikkus and one thousand five hundred Brahmans, well-versed in the Vedas, accompanied

king Dutugemunu (101-77 B. C.) on his first state visit to Ridi Vihara.* In the reign of king Valagamba (29-17 B. C.) there was a great rebellion under the leadership of a Brahman Tissa. Queen Anula (A. C. 12-16) married a Tamil Brahman named Niliya who was the palace - priest. In Bhatiya's reign (A. C. 38-66) there arose a dispute among the monks of Anuradhapura over the interpretation of some rules in the Vinaya, the king appointed a Brahman to act as an umpire. Sri Naga (A. C. 249-268) a Brahman ruled as king at Anuradhapura and was succeeded by his sons and grandson and great-grandson.† King Mahasena (335-361) destroyed a temple of Siva in the village of the Brahman Kalanda and founded there a Vihara. ‡

From Ibn Batuta (1344) we learn that there were a thousand Brahmans attached to the temple of Vishnu at Dondra. According to 'Kokila Sandesa', there were seats set apart for Brahmans in the court of Parakrama Bahu VI (1412-1467) at Kotte.§ It is the opinion of Sir Paul E. Pieris that the ambassador of Bhuvaneka Bahu VII referred to in Portuguese documents as Pandither is no other

* R. A. S. Vol. XXIX. No. 76. Page 139.

† Vide pages 84 and 91.

‡ Mahavamsa Chap. 37, V. 41.

§ The Ceylon Historical Journal Vol. III. Nos. 3 & 4 Page 262.

than Bragmone Pandita.* In the Kotte period Brahmans had received lands for services rendered to the king. Oruvala is an example of a village given to two Brahmans.† Thus from the time of king Vijaya to the last king of Ceylon we find that Brahmans occupied an important position in the Courts of the kings of Ceylon. They exercised an immense influence not only in society and religion but also in politics.

The kings of Ceylon except Mahasena never stood in the way of their Hindu subjects nor did they ever persecute them. In fact, most Sinhalese kings gave equal support to Buddhism and Hinduism, and a few evinced unlimited interest in Hindu institutions and affairs.‡

Kings of Ceylon and Hinduism

Pandukabhaya, who was himself a Hindu, built a Sivika Sala at Anuradhapura for the worship of the Hindus.§ During the time of the Tamil rulers of Anuradhapura Hinduism was well protected and encouraged. King Dutugemunu made several endowments to Kataragama.[1] The Konesar Kalveddu records that Gaja Bahu made cash endowments to the temple at Konamalai. He, as mentioned earlier, popularized the worship of Kannakai and ordered processions along the streets. According to tradition the Vishnu temple

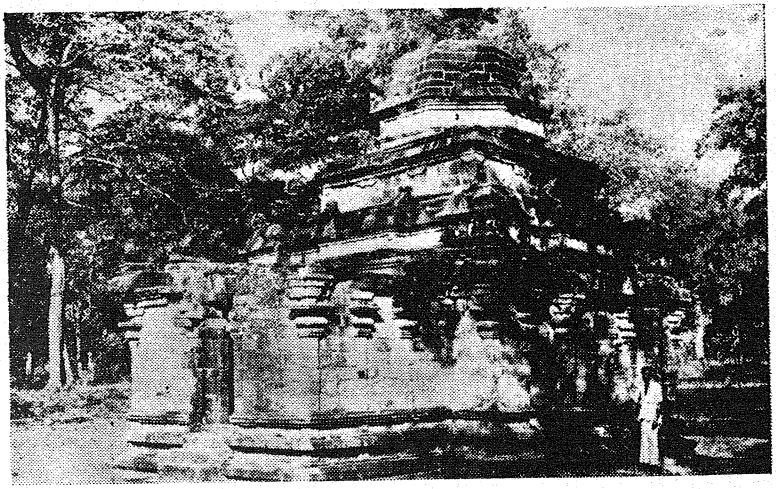
* Ribeiro's Ceilao. Sir P. E. Pieris. Page 24; a Brahman.

† E. Z. III. 3.

‡ Vikkama Bahu (II) I (1116-1137)

§ Mahavamsa Chap. X. V. 102.

1. Vide Page 36.



Siva Devale No. 2 is Polonnaruwa's only structure entirely of stone. There are three inscriptions cut in the walls in Grantha Tamil. Before William the Conqueror landed on the shores of England in 1066, the Tamils built this fine Devale and dedicated it to Lord Siva. It belongs to the early Chola rule of Ceylon.

at Dondra was first built by Agbo IV in the middle of the seventh century.* Kassapa III (717-724) compelled the Brahmans to observe their respective religious customs.† Mahinda II (772-792) is reported to have restored many dilapidated temples of Gods here and there and had costly images of the gods made, and to have entertained the Brahmans with delicious food.‡ During the reign of Sena II (851-885) he had, 'a thousand jars of gold filled with pearls and on top of each he placed a jewel and presented them to a thousand Brahmans.' §

The Siva Devale No. 2 whose presiding deity was called Vanavan Madevi Isvaram Udaiyar dates from the Chola period, and is the only monument at Polonnaruwa constructed entirely of stone and is in a satisfactory state of preservation. To this period belonged another temple at Matota which was named Rajaraja Isvarattu Mahadeva so called after the Chola conqueror of Ceylon of the eleventh century.$ In Vijaya Bahu's (1070-1114) time Hindu temples were maintained as in the days of the Cholas, and the customary royal offerings continued to be given. A Saiva shrine was founded by Vijaya Bahu I near Kantalai.[1]

* A Short History of Ceylon. H. W. Codrington. Page 37.

† Culavamsa I. Chap. 48, V. 23.

‡ ,, ,, V. 143, 144.

§ Culavamsa Chap 51. V. 65.

$ The Ceylon Historical Journal Vol. I—No. 2. Jan. 1952.

1. Tamil Slab Inscription. Palamottai near Kantalai in 1933. and E. Z. Vol. IV. No. 24.

Vikkama Bahu (II) I (1116-1137), son of Vijaya Bahu I founded a Saivite temple Vikkirama-cala-mega-isvara in Magala, alias Vikkirama-calamega-puram. He made donations for the lighting of a perpetual lamp.* This king gave considerable support and patronage to Saivism. Gaja Bahu II (1137-1153) caused the Siva Devale No. 1 to be constructed at Polonnaruwa.† For the carrying out of the ceremonies of expiation, Parakrama Bahu I (1153—1186) erected buildings for the Brahmans.[1] He also built thirteen Hindu temples,[2] and restored and rededicated seventy nine ruined temples to the gods.[3]

Parakrama Bahu II (1236-1271) renovated the Vishnu temple at Dondra and ordered the annual celebration in the town of an Asalhi festival for the god.[4] He also caused to be constructed the Kali Kovila at Bentota.[5] A Maha Saman Devale was built near Ratnapura in the reign of Parakrama Bahu II.[6] Vijaya Bahu IV (1271-1273) provided temples to Hindu deities.[7] In the district of Sitawaka Parakrama Bahu IV (1325 - ?) had a fair temple erected with lofty

* The Ceylon Historical Journal. Polonnaruwa Period. Page 21.

† R A. S. Vol. XXIV. No. 68. Page 191.

1. Culavamsa Chap. 73 V. 71.
2. ,, ,, 79 V. 19.
3. ,, ,, 79 V. 22.
4. ,, ,, 85 V. 87, 88, 89.
5. R. A. S. Vol. VIII No. 29 Page 340.
6. The Early History of Ceylon G. C. Mendis, Page 107
7. Culavamsa Chap. 88. V. 119.

towers and spires to Lord Vishnu.* In 1236 he founded at Walahagoda about a mile from Gampola a devale which he dedicated to Skanda. The Vegiriya Devale is said to have been built during the period of Bhuvaneka Bahu IV† (1344 - 1354). In the reign of Vikkama Bahu (IV) III (1357 - 1375) the Ambakka Devale was built to the god of Kataragama.‡

Alagakkonara, when he had built the fort of Jeyawardana Kotte, built four temples for the protection of the four quarters of the city and dedicated them to the gods Vishnu, Vibhisana, Subramaniya, and Lakshmana and ordained that daily services should be performed with music and drums of every sort.§

Parakrama Bahu VI made an endowment of lands to Munneswaram Temple. The inscription below bears evidence.

Translation

Let happiness be! On the tenth day of the waxing moon in October in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, His Majesty Sri Parakrama Bahu, descendant of the illustrious family of Sri Sangabodhi, worshipper of the lotus-feet of Sri Samantapatra (Buddha) of Solar race, king of kings, serpent to the royal and mercantile races and emperor of the three worlds, invited to the Jeyawardana Kotte the Nampimar (priests)

* Culavamsa Chap. 90 V. 102.
† R. A. S. Vol. XXXII No. 86 Page 267.
‡ " " " " 86 " 273.
§ " " XXVIII " 74 " 115.

who officiate before the god of Munneswaram and addressing himself to the Brahman Pandit, who is proficient in all sciences amongst them, inquired into the circumstances of that temple and bestowed the lands which formerly belonged to the priests, lying within the district of Munneswaram in the holy name, and as the property of the god. As Pusai lands he granted to the priests 22 amanams of field at Illippedeniya, and 30 amanams in Kottapitiya to Mutanmai (chief priests) and 8 amanams of field in Tittakadai with the inhabited places and forests appertaining to this. In addition to the offering of three nalis of rice, he granted 30 fanams to the priests per mensem add 11 fanams to each of the Mutanmais (chief priests) for the daily offerings of vegetable curries, greens, and perfumes to be enjoyed from generation to generation, while the sun and the moon exist, as Sarvamaniyam (free gift) to the god of Munneswaram, which is hereby decreed to be irrevocable. Those who cause any damage to the land will be guilty of Panchamahapatakam (the five great sins), which those who take an interest in it will attain heavenly bliss.' This is followed by a Sulokam.

"To this effect this was caused to be inscribed by Parakraman through the grace of Munneswarar, who is an ocean of wisdom in Saivism and lord of all the different classes of gods."*

Like Parakrama Bahu VI, Parakrama Bahu IX (1506-1528) in 1527 executed land grants for the maintenance of Munneswaram temple.† The The mighty Rajasinha I (1581 - 1593) built the famous Brendikovil near Sitawaka and furnished it with all necessary accessories. According to

* R. A. S. Vol. X No. 35 Page. 118
† Munneswara Manmiam



Somaskanda Murthi—Siva and His consort Uma alias Siva-Kami and Child. Skanda is missing in this group.



'Kathiramalai Palu' Rajasinha I built the shrine at Kataragama to the god of Kataragama. He also handed the management of Sri Pada to Hindu ascetics and the profit accruing therefrom.* As the Portuguese had destroyed the temple at Konamalai, Rajasinha II (1635-1687) built a shrine to the god of Konamalai at Thambalagamam.† In 1753 Kirti Sri Rajasinha (1747-1782) executed land grants for the maintenance of Munneswaram temple.[1] Various other Hindu temples were built by the kings of Gampola and Kandy in various periods. Thus Sinhalese kings in the long period of the history of this country gave equal support to Buddhism and Hinduism.

The support given by Arya Chakravartis for the propagation of Hinduism has already been mentioned. These kings went to the extent of sending milk daily to the temple of Rameswaram from the island of Delft and flowers from the

* Culavamsa Chap. 93 V. 12.
For more than hundred and fifty years Sri Pada remained under Hindu management and later Kirti Sri Rajasinha restored it to the Buddhists (Vide Page 277 History of Ceylon Father S. G. Perera)

† Konasala Puranam says:
மாநிலம் புகழும் வீர வராச சிங்கன் என்னும்
மேன்மை கொள் வேந்தன் தன்பால் விழித்துயில் கனவின்
வானவர் முனிவர் காணமொழிப் புனிதனுமெங் [மேவி
கோனருள் நீர்மை தன்னுல் இனையன கூறலுற்றான்
As Rajasinha I lived before the destruction of the temple of Konamalai, the Rajasinha referred to in the above and succeeding stanzas can only refer to Rajasinha II.

1. Munneswara Manmiam.

island of Kachchaitivu.* In this manner Tamil and Sinhalese kings patronized Hindu institutions through out the long period of the history of the Island.

Hindu influence on Buddhism

To understand the influence of Hinduism on Buddhism in Ceylon we have to look back to India and record the influences on Buddhism in the land of its birth. Buddhism originated as an ethical system and was essentially a monastic religion. But from its very inception it developed in an environment of Hinduism. Early Buddhist converts were mostly Hindus and they could not forget the gods they worshipped and their traditional beliefs. Hence, Mahayanism a form of Buddhism originated in India in the first century A. C. under the direct influence of Hinduism. This system was known as the Vaitulya Vada and the other school prevalent in Ceylon was known as the Theravada system or the Southern school.

In Ceylon, in the early Christian era the Abhayagiri monks came under the influence of Mahayanism. Those who followed this new learning continued to disturb the orthodox faction time and again. Even the kings of Ceylon began to take sides and Mahasen began to persecute the orthodox school. This rivalry between the two schools of thought continued for many centuries and later Parakrama Bahu I

* 'Jaffna History' A Mootootamby Pillay, Page 55,

reconciled the two sects and put an end to all disputes.

At this time Hinduism in its universality of outlook was absorbing Buddhism. Buddha was admitted as an incarnation of Vishnu. The old Vedic gods and goddesses receded to the background and Siva and Vishnu became popular symbols of worship. The cult of Bhakti was emphasized by Hindu reformers and religion with its rituals, ceremonies, and festivals was brought down to the masses.

Likewise the Mahayanists probably influenced by this emotional attitude of Hinduism extolled the benefits of worshipping bodhisattvas. This new attitude introduced by Hinduism resulted in greater worship being paid to images and relics of the Buddha. Images gradually became a feature of viharas and later every vihara had a statue of Buddha and its shrine room.

In course of time Hindu gods began to be worshipped in viharas themselves. In the Lanka tilaka vihara near Gampola images of Hindu gods were placed in the interior of the buildings.

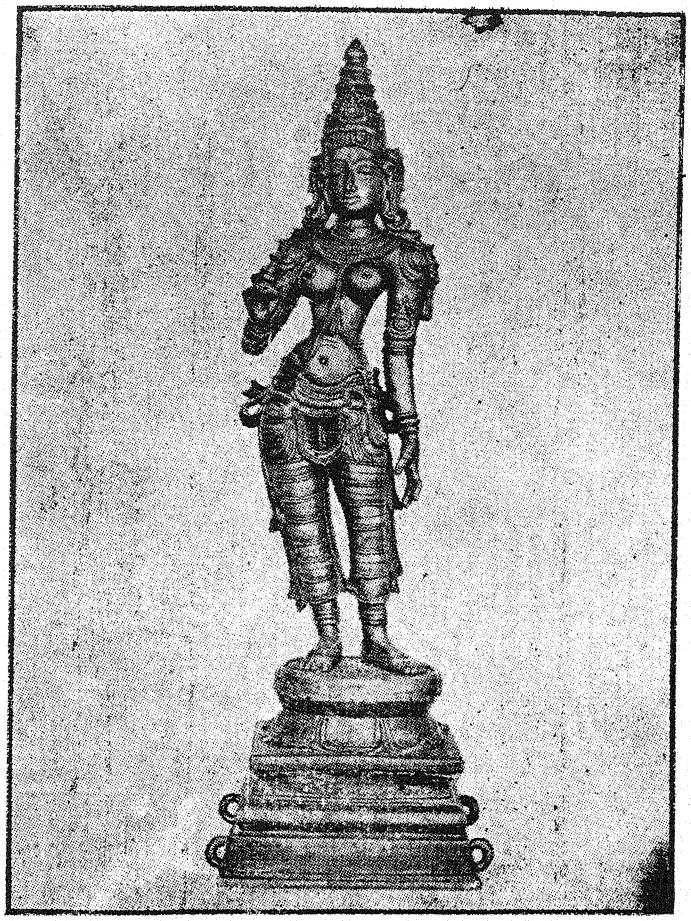
In the Dambulla caves nos. 1 and 2 were placed the images of Vishnu side by side with the statues of Lord Buddha. Viharas stood in close proximity to Hindu temples as in Kataragama and at Dondra. Buddhists and Hindus began to offer prayers to the same deity in unison.

Elaborate ceremonies, festivals, and peraheras under the patronage of kings became popular. The chanting of 'Pirit' gained much popularity after the Chola period. Many shrines became the centres of pilgrimage. Though Sri Pada was a centre of pilgrimage from vary early times great importance was attached to it after the Chola period.

The presence of a large number of Tamils in Rajarata and the establishment of a Hindu kingdom in the north had a profound effect on Buddhism. The successive waves of South Indian invasions brought a strong Hindu element in Ceylon. The Tamil kings who ruled Ceylon introduced Hindu practices and rituals. Sir P. Arunasalam says: "Throughout Ceylon History the Court religion was Hinduism and its ritual and worship largely alloyed and affected the popular Buddhism and made it very unlike the religion of Buddha".* Thus Buddhism in Ceylon as in India grew in an environment of Hinduism.



* R. A. S. Vol. XXIX No. 77. Page 243.



Siva-kami—The Divine Energy represented as a consort of Siva.

Tamil Poets and Writers of Ceylon

1. Ampalavanapandithar (1814-1879) Tellippalai
2. Ampikaipagar (1884-1904) Inuvil.
3. Arampaiyar (1847-1914) Matakal.
4. Arasakesari (15th century) Nallur.
5. Arumuganavalar (1822-1879) Nallur.
6. Ganapathyaiyar (1709-1784) Vaddukoddai.
7. Ganesapandithar (1843-1881) Vannarponnai.
8. Gnanapragasaswamy (1616) Tirunelvely.
9. Gnanapragasar Fr. S. (1875-1947) Nallur.
10. Kanagasabaipulavar (1829-1873) Alaveddy.
11. Kanagasundarampillai T. (1863-1922) Trinco-
12. Kanapathypillai 1845-1895) Puloly. [malee
13. Kanthapillai (1766-1842) Nallur.
14. Kathiravetpillai. K. (1829-1904) Udupiddy.
15. Kathiravetpillai. N. 1844-1907 Puloly.
16. Kingsbury Rev. Francis (1873-1941) Chirupiddy.
17. Kulankaithambiran (1699-1795) Vannarponnai.
18. Kumarakulasinghamudaliyar (1826-1889) Tellippalai.
19. Kumarasinghamudaliyar (1800) Matota.
20. Kumaraswamymudaliyar (1791-1874) Udupiddy.
21. Kumaraswamy pulavar (1855-1922) Chunnakam.
22. Lorenzo pulavar (18th century) Matota.
23. Mailvagana pulavar (1736) Matakal.
24. Murugesapandithar (1830-1900) Chunnakam.
25. Muttukumarakavirayar (1780-1851) Chunnakam.
26. Muttuthambypillai (1858-1917) Vannarponnai.
27. Nadarasaiyer (1844-1905) Inuvil.
28. Naganathapillai (1824-1884) Chunnakam.
29. Navaneethakrishnabharathiar (1880-1952) Maviddapuram.

30. Panditharasar (1400) Konamalai.
31. Pararajasekaram (15th century) Nallur.
32. Peethampara pulavar (1819) Nirvely.
33. Philip de Melho (1723-1790) Colombo.
34. Ponnambalappillai (1891) Maviddapuram.
35. Ponnambalappillai (1836-1902) Nallur.
36. Ponnampalam S. (1870 1946) Chavakachcheri.
37. Poolokasingamudaliyar (1680) Tellippalai.
38. Poothanthevanar (Early Christian Era).
39. Posa Raja (1310) Dambadeniya.
40. Sabapathynavalar (1843-1903) Kopay.
41. Sangarapandithar (1821-1891) Nirvely.
42. Saravanamuttupillai (1848-1916) Urelu.
43. Saravanamuttupulavar (1802-1845) Nallur.
44. Sathasivampillai Arnold (1820-1896) Manipay.
45. Segarajasegaran (15th century) Nallur.
46. Senathiraja mudaliyar (1750-1840) Irupalai.
47. Sinnathamby pulavar (1716-1780) Nallur.
48. Sinnathambypillai (1888) Trincomalee.
49. Sithamparapillai (1889) Sankuvely.
50. Sivananthaiyar (1873-1916) Tellippalai.
51. Sivapathasundaram S. (1877-1953) Puloly.
52. Sivapragasapandithar (1864-1916) Nirvely.
53. Sivasambuppulavar (1852-1910) Udupiddy.
54. Somasundarapulavar (1878-1953) Navaly.
55. Thamotherampillai (1832-1901) Chirupiddy.
56. Thambimuttupillai (1857-1921) Achchuvely.
57. Tirugnanasambantha Upathiyayar (1906) Chulipuram.
58. Tirugnanasambanthapillai (1849-1901) Nallur.
59. Vaithianathamunivar (1616) Alaveddy.
60. Vaithilingapillai (1852-1901) Valveddithurai.
61. Vaiyapuri Iyer (15th century).
62. Varathakavirayar (1656-1716) Chunnakam.
63. Velupillai M. K. (1864-1926) Madduvil.
64. Vipulananda Swami (1892-1947) Batticaloa.
65. Visuvanathasastriyar (1836) Araly.

Besides these writers there are many others who have been omitted for lack of space.

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Tamils and Ceylon

A Chart of Important Events
B. C. 483—1620 A. C.

B. C. 5th Century

483 The landing of Vijaya.

" 4th Century

377 The founding of Anuradhapura.

" 3rd Century

247 Introduction of Buddhism.

247-207 Arrival of the Bodhi-tree.
The establishment of the Maha Vihara.

" 2nd Century

199 Death of Mahinda.

198 Death of Sanghamitta

177-155 Sena and Guttika two Tamils rule at Anuradhapura.

145-101 Elala a Chola nobleman rules at Anuradhapura for 44 years.

101 Elala is defeated and Dutugemunu seizes the throne.
Bhalluka, Elala's nephew, invades with a large Tamil force.

" 1st Century

43-29 Seven Pandyan chiefs win Lanka and rule for fifteen years.

A. C. 1st Century

93 The Lambakannas rebel and make the king Ila Naga, a prisoner.

A. C. 2nd Century

127 Vasabha, a Lambakanna of the North, becomes king at Anuradhapura. He and his descendants rule till 196 A. C.

196-303 Jaffna Nagas rule at Anuradhapura.

" 3rd Century

269-291 Suppression of Vaitulya vada.

" 4th Century

303-431 Lambakannas again rule at Anuradhapura.

309-322 Exile of the Vaitulya monks. Reign of Gothabhaya.

334-361 Mahasena supports Mahayana. The Maha Vihara destroyed by Mahasena. Destruction of Hindu temples in the eastern portion of the Island.

362-409 The tooth-relic brought to Ceylon during Siri Megavanna's reign. Fa Hien comes to Ceylon.

" 5th Century

409-431 Buddhaghosa translates Pali Suttas into Sinhalese.

433-460 Five Pandyans rule Ceylon one after the other.

436 Kulakoddan builds the temple of Koneswaram. Fisherman from the Keerimalai coasts make new settlements in the Batticaloa District.

" 6th Century

522-556 Lambakannas again seize power in Anuradhapura.

593 Agbo I makes elaborate preparations to put down the Vanniyas.

A. C. 7th Century

617-626 Sri Naga, uncle of Jetthatissa III comes with a Tamil army to take possession of the Northern Province. He fails in his attempt.

650-658 Tamils seize Anuradhapura for some time.

674-677 A Tamil Pottha Kuttha rules Lanka through his nominees: Datta and Hattha datha II.

" 8th Century

766-772 Temporary removal of the seat of government to Polonnaruwa.
Hindu influence on Buddhist practices

772 Revolt of the Northern Districts of the Island. No-tax campaign.

772-792 Tamils seize Anuradhapura, but very soon they are driven out.

792-797 A red sandal-wood image of Vishnu is wafted across the seas to Dondra.

795 Ugra Singan, a Kalinga prince, takes the Northern Province.
The beginning of Kalinga rule in Jaffna.
The building of the Kandaswamy temple at Maviddapuram.

" 9th Century

831-851 Pandyan invasion of Ceylon by Srimara Sri-vallabha. Polonnaruwa becomes permanently the seat of government. The close of an epoch and the beginning of a new one.

850 A Muhammadan named Suleyman visits Ceylon.

A. C. 10th Century

913-923 Kassapa V sends help to the Pandyas for their wars against the Cholas. Rajasimha, the Pandyan, flies to Ceylon with his regalia.

944 Jaffna comes under the rule of the Cholas.

959 Second Chola invasion of the Island.

972-981 The Senapati Sena of Sena V hands over the country to the Tamils. Soon the king makes a treaty with the Senapati.

„ 11th Century

1003 Chola invasion of Ceylon and the seizure of the capital. Renaming Polonnaruwa, Jananathapura.

1017 The Sinhalese king and queen are seized and deported.

The Pandyan regalia and the Ceylon Crown Jewels are removed by the Cholas.

1070 End of the Chola rule in Ceylon.

1084 Revolt of the Velaikkaras.

„ 12th Century

1109 Velaikkaras become the 'Protectors' of the Tooth Relic.

1153 Parakrama Bahu I becomes king at Polonnarawa.

1187 As in Jaffna a Kalinga dynasty gets established at Polonnaruwa.

„ 13th Century

1211-1214 Parakrama Pandu seizes the throne of Lanka.

1215 Kalinga Magha invades Ceylon with a mighty force. Rules at Polonnaruwa till 1236.

He is the first of the Arya Chakravatis of Jaffna.

1220 The Sinhalese under Vijaya Bahu III makes Dambadeniya their new capital.

The establishment of the Lunar dynasty, descended from king Pandu.

1236-44 Tamil war

1244 Retreat of the Tamils from Polonnaruwa

1254-56 Pandyan invasion of Ceylon. They exact tribute from Parakrama Bahu II.

1273-84 Yapahu becomes the new seat of government.

Sack of Yapahu by Arya Chakravarti. The beginning of Tamil expansion southwards.

For more than twelve years, after the fall of Yapahu, the whole of Lanka is directly ruled by the kings of Jaffna.

1293 Marco Polo passes through the Palk Strait on his return journey from China. He gives an interesting account of the people of North Ceylon.

A. C. 14th Century

1310 A Tamil poem 'Sarajoti Malai' is recited at the court of Parakrama Bahu III. Kurunegala becomes the new seat of government.

1344 Ibn Batuta visits Arya Chakravarti of Jaffna. He calls the Jaffna king as the

'Sultan of Ceylon'. The capital is again shifted from Kurunegala to Gampola.

1348 John de Marignolli, a papal legate to the Khan of China, visits Jaffna, and remains in the peninsula for a short time.

1365 Madura falls to Kumara Kumpana of Vijayanagar.

End of the short Muslim rule of the Pandyan kingdom.

Dissatisfied people migrate to Jaffna.

With the chief Vellalas, Pallas come to Jaffna.

1382-90 Simultaneous attack on Gampola and Jeyawardana Kotte by Arya Chakravarti.

The capital is again shifted from Gampola to Rayigama.

A. C. 15th Century

1409 Chinese leave behind a tri-lingual inscription at Galle, in Chinese, Persian and in Tamil.

1410 Vira Alageswara is carried away by the Chinese as a captive.

1414 Pararajasekaran V builds the main shrine of Rameswaram with stones from Trincomalee.

1440 Kanagasuriya Singai Aryan, Segarajasegaran VI comes to the throne of Jaffna.

1450 Invasion of Jaffna by Senpahap Perumal afterwards known as Bhuvaneka Bahu VI. Fall of Singai Nagar.

Kanagasuriya Singai Aryan escapes to India.

Founding of the city of Nallur.

Founding of the Nallur Kandaswamy temple.

1467/68 Kanagasuriya Singai Aryan regains the throne of Jaffna after a surprise attack.

1473 Bhuvaneka Bahu VI the conqueror of the Jaffna kingdom, the son of a Chola Tamil, founds a new dynasty at Kotte.

1478 Singai Pararajasekaran VI comes to the throne of Jaffna.

A. C. 16th Century

1505 The Portuguese arrive in Ceylon.

1519 Sangily Segarajasekaran VII ascends the throne of Jaffna.

1544 Massacre of Christian converts in Mannar.

1547 Sangily sends an auxiliary force to Mayadunne.

1551 Bhuvaneka Bahu, king of Kotte, succumbs to an accidental gun shot-wound.

Death of the Trincomalee Vanniya chieftain

Segarajasegaran annexes his territories. Dharmapala ascends the throne of Kotte.

1552 The Portuguese destroy Berendikovil at Sitawaka, the most beautiful Hindu temple in Ceylon.

1560 First invasion of Jaffna by the Portuguese, Sangily retaliates and drives away the invaders.

1561 The capture of Mannar.
Sangily Segarajasekaran hands over the administration to his son Puviraja Pandaram, (Pararajasekaran VII).

1565 Sangily Segarajasekaran VII dies.
Cunchi Nayinar or Casie Nayinar usurps the throne of Jaffna.
Don John Dharmapala leaves Kotte to Colombo,

1570 Periya Pillai Segarajasekaran VIII ascends the throne of Jaffna.

1571 Sangily Segarajasekaran's son, the crown prince, who was taken as a captive by the Portuguese, dies at Goa.

1575 The destruction of Munneswaram temple by the Portuguese.

1581 Death of Mayadunne.

1582 Death of PeriyaPillai Segarajasekaran VIII.
Sitawaka at the height of its power.

1582 Puvirajah Pandaram II comes to the throne of Jaffna.

1588 The demolition of the golden-roofed Vishnu temple at Dondra by the Portuguese.

1589 Customary Pujas at Tirukketiswaram ceases.

1590 Fourth attack on Mannar by the Tamils.

1591 Fifth attack on Mannar.
Second Portuguese invasion of Jaffna.
Death of the king while defending the city of Nallur.
Ethirmannasinga Pararajasekaran VIII becomes king at Jaffna.

1592 Nallur convention.
Tamils headed by a prince revolt.
Tanjore aid given to the rebels.

1593 Death of Rajasinha I, king of Sitawaka.

1595 Recognition of the king of Jaffna by the king of Spain.

1597 Death of Dharmapala, the last king of Kotte.
Portuguese become masters of the low countries.

A. C. 17th Century

1602 Friar Pedro de Betancor builds the first church at Kayts. Dutch envoys visit Ceylon.

1602-1603 Fruitless negotiations at Batticaloa between the Dutch admiral and Vimala Dharma Suriya I king of Kandy.

1604 Vimala Dharma Suriya I dies, and is succeeded by his cousin Senerat.

1608 The Portuguese grant the sixty two villages of the great temple of Munneswaram to Jesuits for the maintenance of the Catholic College at Colombo.

1615 Ethirmannasinga Pararajasekaran VIII dies. A young prince, son of the late king, is proclaimed king. Arasakesari becomes the regent.

1616 Palace assassinations.
Arasakesari, the regent, is killed.
Many members of the royal family are slaughtered.
Periya Megapulle Arachchi is also one of the victims.

1618 Insurrection in Jaffna against the cruel atrocities of Sangily Kumara.

Second revolt. The embittered Mudaliyars and the Careas besiege the palace. Portuguese under Philip de Oliveira move their troops into Jaffna under a false pretence.

There is feeble resistance. A small encounter at Vannarponnai

Retreat of the Tamils.

Sangily Kumara and the members of the royal family are captured on their flight. They are all transported to Goa.

1619 The chief of the Careas with a Tanjore force attempts to drive away the Portuguese.

Das Maminhas, a Mudaliyar of Jaffna, descends with a band of fighters consisting of Maravars and Vadagars. He fails.

Sinna Megapulle, son of Periya Megapulle, arrives at Tondaimanar with a thousand warriors.

Isolation of the Portuguese garrison at Jaffna.

Reinforcements are sent both by land and sea from Colombo.

Hideous brutalities are committed by the land forces on their way to Jaffna.

1620 Second insurrection of Sinna Megapulle. Tanjore Aid.

Much pressure is brought on the Portuguese.

Reinforcements soon arrive from Colombo
Megapulle also receives fresh reinforcements from Tanjore.
The enemy becomes the master of the situation.

1621 De Oliveira becomes the first administrator of the Jaffna kingdom.
The destruction of the Nallur Kandaswamy temple.
The end of an epoch in the history of the Tamils, and the beginning of a new one.



Portuguese Rule

Jaffna
1621—1658

17th Century

1621 Defeat of the Tanjore forces that came to liberate Jaffna.

1622-23 Catholic Churches are built in Jaffna.

1623 The first Portuguese Tombo prepared.

1624 Portuguese destroy Koneswaram temple. Building of the fort at Trincomalee.

1626 The expulsion of the Moors from Portuguese territories. They seek settlements in the Batticaloa District.
Some settle in groups in the districts of the Central Province.

1627	Great cyclone in Jaffna. All the new churches are destroyed. Great loss of life and property. Coastal areas are greatly damaged. Death of Oliveira, the first Portuguese Captain-general.
1628	Trincomalee and Batticaloa districts are brought under the Jaffna administration. Building the fort at Batticaloa.
1629	Senerat, king of Kandy, invades Jaffna on behalf of his two sons, who married two Jaffna princesses. Churches are burnt down. Tanjore aid to the invaders.
1630	Battle of Vellavaya.
1631	The prince of Matale plunders the districts of Palugama and Eraur. (Batticaloa District.)
1635	Death of Senerat, king of Kandy
1936	Battle of Gannoruwa
1638	Dutch take the fort at Batticaloa.
1639	Trincomalee capitulates to the Dutch.
1640	Galle is stormed by the Dutch. Negombo is taken by the Dutch.
1643	Batticaloa fort is handed to Rajasinha II.
1644	A truce to last eight years is signed between the Dutch and the Portuguese.
1645	A revised Portuguese Tombo is completed.

Thanakaras of Udupiddy exempt themselves from the land-tax by promising to give elephants.

1652 War breaks out again between the Portuguese and the Dutch.

1658 Mannar falls into the hands of the Dutch.

On June 21st Jaffna surrenders to the Dutch.

A mixed group of Portuguese and Tamils conspire to overthrow the Dutch.

Very cruel punishment is meted out to these conspirators in Jaffna.

Poothathamby gets involved in it through his enemies, and falls a victim.

Baldeus, the famous Protestant missionary, arrives in Jaffna.

Jaffna District Census 120,000.

A furious tempest accompanied by a hurricane sweeps Jaffna.

Dutch Rule

1658—1795

1660 Robert Knox taken as a captive by the king of Kandy.

1661 All public officers in Jaffna are dismissed except Mudaliyars.

1667 First issue of the Vaikkeya Panchankam by Ramalinga Iyer.

1672 The expulsion of the French from Trincomalee by the Dutch.

1679 Robert knox escapes from the Kandyan territories.

He enters the Tamil country and gets off from Arippu.

1689 Father Joseph Vaz, a Konkani Brahman of Goa arrives in Jaffna in disguise.

1690 While this Catholic priest is about to say mass in a private house, Dutch officers raid the house. A seminary is established in Jaffna.

1694 A revolt in Jaffna.

1695 The completion of the Jaffna fort.

A. C. 18th Century

1706 The completion of the Protestant Church in the Jaffna fort.

1707 Class Isaacs collects the laws and customs of Jaffna.

Death of Vimala Dharma Suriya, king of Kandy.

Narendra Singha succeeds him.

1711 Father Joseph Vaz dies in Kandy.

1716 The appointment of Vanniyas for the Vanni Districts.

1723 Discontinuance of the Jaffna seminary.

1726 Great floods—Famine for the next two years.

1736 Mailvagana pulavar completes his history of Jaffna: Vaipava Malai.

1739 Death of Narendra Sinha, the last Sinhalese king.
Vijaya Rajasinha, ascends the throne of Kandy.
Establishment of a Tamil dynasty in Kandy,

1740 A Second Dutch Tombo is begun, but never completed.

1743 The gospels are translated in Tamil.

1747 Death of Vijaya Rajasinha. Kirti Sri succeeds him.

1754 First Tamil book is printed in Ceylon. It is in the museum at Batavia.

1759 The New Testament is published in Tamil.

1760 Kandyan invasion of the Dutch territory.

1747-82 Buddhist revival under Kirti Sri Rajasinha.

1766 Census population of the Jaffna District 187,600.
Puttalam is ceded to the Dutch by the king of Kandy.

1782 Death of Kirti Sri.
The English take Trincomalee.
Rajadhirajasinha becomes the king of Kandy.

1750-1800 A large number of Jaffna Tamils make settlements in the districts of Mullaitivu and Omantai.

1784 In the "Peace of Paris" Trincomalee is restored to the Dutch by the French.
Very little rainfall in Jaffna.
Rebellion of the Vanniyas.

1785 A great famine in Jaffna.
The issue of paper currency.

1787 Permission granted to build the Sivan temple at Vannarponnai.

1790 The sensational arrest of Nallamapanna Vanniyan of Panankamam.

1791 Inauguration of the Sivan temple at Vannarponnai.

1793 Permission granted to build the Nallur Kandaswamy temple.

1795 British forces enter Trincomalee in August.

They occupy Jaffna on 27th September.

Mannar surrenders in October.

Batticaloa surrenders on 18th September.

On 15th February, Colombo surrenders to the English.



1795—1900

Chief Events **British Rule.**

1796-1801 East India Company Rule in Ceylon.

1796 Maritime provinces of Ceylon become the possession of the British.

1797 Insurrection in Sinhalese provinces.

1798 Lord North becomes the Governor of Ceylon.

Death of Rajadhi Rajasinha, king of Kandy.

Sri Wickrama Rajasinha succeeds him.

1800 Murrain, a great cattle disease, sweeps Jaffna.

Fourfifths of the cattle of Jaffna succumbs.
Naddukoddai Chetties establish their firms in Jaffna.

A. C. 19th Century

1801 A tax on paddy and fine grain is levied.

1801-1802 Dual Administration.

1802 First publication of the Government Gazette.
Ceylon is made Crown Colony.
Vaccine inoculation commenced in the Island.

1803 Rebellion of Pandara Vanniyan. First Kandyan War.
Massacre of British Troops in Kandy.
Muttusamy, an aspirant to the throne of Kandy is killed.
Kumarasegara Mudaliyar of Mullaitivu and several others executed on a charge of treason.

1805 47 Schools in Jaffna closed for want of funds.

1806 Catholics relieved of the disabilities imposed by the Dutch.
Police headmen first appointed.
Thesawalamai comes into force in the Northern Province.

1807 The Bazaar-tax first established.

1810 The jurisdiction of the supreme court is extended to Jaffna.

1811 The execution of Pilama Taluwe.

1812 A Royal Botanic garden is established.

1814 The Wesleyan Mission comes to Jaffna. On November 5, a dreadful hurricane in North and North-West coast of Ceylon causes great devastation in Jaffna and Mannar.

1815 Second Kandyan War.
The British take the kingdom of Kandy.
Sri Wickrama Rajasinha is taken captive to Vellore.
The Kandyan Convention.

1816 The American Mission comes to Vaddukoddai.

1817 Sinhalese rebellion against British rule.

1818 The Church mission arrives at Nallur.
First outbreak of cholera in Jaffna.
The Proclamation of 1818.
The execution of Keppitipola and Madugalle.

1819 Martial law ceases in the Kandyan provinces.

1820 An American Mission hospital is established at Pandatheripoo.

1822 Birth of Sri la Sri Arumuga Navalar.

1823 Inauguration of the Vaddukoddai Seminary.

1824 Establishment of Uduvil Girls' School.
Trial pumping of the Puttur tidal well.

1825 Pounds, shillings, pence and farthings the currency of the United kingdom of Great Britain becomes the legal esta-established currency of the Island.

1826 A printing press is established at Nallur.

1827 First planting of coffee in the Island.

1828 The Nayanmarkaddu hospital is founded.

1829 Dyke, Government Agent northern province assumes duties.

The Colebrooke Commission arrives to report on the administration of the Government of Ceylon.

Death of Ehelapola in the island of Mauritius.

1831 Census: The population of the Jaffna peninsula 146,528.

1832 The Colebrooke Reforms.

An extraordinary meteor appeared in Colombo.

1833 The first Legislative Council is constituted.

The cinnamon monopoly is abolished.

Mr. A. Kumaraswamypillai is appointed as an unofficial Tamil member of the Legislative Council.

1834 The Colombo Observer afterwards The Ceylon Observer is issued.

The Jaffna Central School is founded.

1836 The Colombo Academy (now Royal College) is established.

1837 First publication of Turnour's translation of the 'Mahavamsa'.

1838 Death of Mr. A Kumaraswamypillai. Simon Casie Chetty of Kalpitiya succeeds him as a member of the Legislative Council.

1839 Census: Jaffna District 212,408.

1841 The first vernacular newspaper Uthayatharakai is issued.

Grant-in-aid for English Schools.

1842 Tamil lexicon by Santhirasegara Pandithar, Manipay Press.
The inauguration of the first Reading room in Jaffna.
First Saivite school at Vannarponnai.

1843 Small-pox epidemic in Jaffna.

1844 Police courts established. Abolition of slavery.

1845 The inauguration of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Courts of Requests established. Formation of the North-Western Province.
The Stanley Reforms.

1846 Ethirmannasinga Mudaliyar succeeds Simon Casie Chetty in the Legislative Council.
Outbreak of Cholera in the Jaffna District and many die (10,000).
The Ceylon Times is first published.

1847 The Sivan temple at Tambalagaman is burgled by Javanese. Many valuables are lost.
Arumuga Navalar commences a series of lectures on 'Saivism' at the Sivan temple at Vannarponnai.
Introduction of the Poll-tax.

1848 Insurrection of Kandyans in Matale and Kurunegala Districts.

1852 Outbreak of Cholera in Point Pedro.

1853 St. Peter's College (Kilner College) is opened as a branch of Central College.

1855 Closing of the Vaddukoddai Seminary.

1856 A virulent type of cholera sweeps Jaffna.

1857 Messrs Thamotherampillai and Carroll Visuvanathan of Jaffna are successful in the first B A. examination of the University of Madras.
Census of Ceylon, 1,697,975 excluding 5430 Europeans.

1858 The first telegraph line constructed in Ceylon. Inauguration of the railway.

1859 Lives of Tamil Poets known as 'Tamil Plutarch' is published by Simon Casie Chetty.

1861 The first batch of Tamil estate labourers are brought from South India.
Mr. Muttukumaraswamy afterwards known as Sir Muttukumaraswamy becomes an unofficial member of the Legislative Council.
School grants are distributed to all schools impartially.

1862 Issue of a Tamil English dictionary by Winslow.
The Jaffna Freeman newspaper published and soon discontinued.

1863 The Ceylon Patriot is founded by Mr. C. W. Kathiravetpillai.

1864 All the unofficial members of the Legislative Council resign in a body.

1865 The inauguration of the Ceylon League.

1867 The opening of the railway between Kandy and Colombo.
First planting of tea in Ceylon.
Death of Dyke, after a period of 38 years service as Government Agent Northern Province.

1868 The loss of a sensational case file from the Jaffna Courts, Nicholas Gould, one of the defendants.

1869 Sir William Twynum assumes duties as Government Agent, Jaffna.

Department of Public Instruction constituted.

Telegraph to Jaffna completed.

1870 Establishment of the Ceylon Medical College.

Jaffna Tamils seek employment in Malaya from the beginning of this decade.

1871 Census of Ceylon. 2,405,287.

1872 The first publication of Navalar's 'Palapadam'

1872 Decimal currency with the Rupee as the standard is introduced in lieu of Sterling.

The inauguration of Jaffna College.

1873 The North Central Province formed.
Dr. Green leaves Jaffna for good.

1874 Knighthood is conferred on Mr. Muttukumaraswamy by her Majesty Queen Victoria—the first gentleman in Asia to receive such an honour.

1875 The Prince of Wales (King Edward VII) visits Ceylon.

He lays the foundation of the Colombo breakwater.

The people of Jaffna presents the prince a set of Jaffna jewellery through Mudaliyar Kanagaretnam.

1876 The passing away of Balasundari ~~or Mangalapuri~~ a great lady devotee of Murugan at Kataragama.

First issue of a Catholic paper 'Pathukavalan' in Jaffna.

1877 The Colombo Museum opened.
Cholera epidemic in Jaffna. Great loss of life.
This is followed by an epidemic of small-pox.

1878 The inauguration of a Government hospital at Puloly.

1879 Pillayar temple at Karaveddy is burnt down.
About hundred people lose their lives
Britto's translation of the Vaipava Malai.
Death of Sir Muttukumaraswamy.
Mr. P. Ramanathan afterwards Sir P. Ramanathan becomes an unofficial member of the Legislative Council.
Death of Sri-la-Sri Arumuga Navalar.

1881 February Census. Population of Ceylon 2,763,984.

1882 Visit of Prince Albert Victor and George of Wales.

1883 The spread of the Coffee Blight.
Rubber is planted on a commercial scale.

1883 Serious riots at Kottamunai near Batticaloa between fishers and toddy-drawers.
A great cyclone in Jaffna. The old bridge between Punnalai and Karaitivu is destroyed. The construction of a new one.
Oriental Bank closes its doors.
Ceylon Tamils lose heavily.

1884 'Sanmarkapotheny' a Tamil vernacular paper is issued by Mr. S. Thambippillai.

1879-84 Trade depression.

1885 The beginning of the existing Government note currency.

1886 Province of Uva is constituted.

1887 Golden Jubilee celebration of Queen Victoria.
Great fireworks in Jaffna.
Many get injured and some lose their lives.
'The Konesar Kalvettu' with Dakshana Kailasa Puranam is printed in Madras.

1889 The formation of Sabragamuwa the ninth province.
'Inthusathanam' and 'The Hindu Organ' first appear.

1891 February Census. Population of Ceylon 3,012,224.

1892 Paddy-tax is abolished.

1893 Mr. P. Comaraswamy becomes the Tamil member in the L. Council.

1894 Inauguration of the Jaffna Hindu College.
Feb. Earthquake in Jaffna.

1896 Sea coast railway is completed to Matara.
Sir William Twynum, Government Agent Northern Province, retires from service.

1897 Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria.
Cholera and small-pox in Jaffna.
Visit of Swami Vivekananda to the Island.

1898 Palkudi Bawa attains Samadhi at Kataragama.

1900 Formation of a separate Irrigation Department. Boer prisoners of war in Ceylon.

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ERRATA

P. 29.	l. 17	for	archaelogical read archaeological
P. 37.	l. 22		omit 'and'
P. 59.	l. 26	,,	Rajadiraja read Rajadhiraja
P. 64.	l. 19	,,	Ela Naga read Ila Naga
PP. 68, 108		,,	Kalinga Maha read Kalinga Magha
P. 87.	l. 1	,,	(389-409) read (·409)
P. 99.	l. 13		omit the first 'the'
P. 139.	l. 19	,,	Buvaneha Bahu read Buvaneka Bahu
P. 140.	l. 9	,,	Sonth India read South India
P. 153.	l. 14	,,	Braganca read Braganza
P. 161.	l. 24	,,	foretalled read forestalled
PP. 164, 185		,,	Rebeiro read Ribeiro
P. 172.	l. 28	,,	his earrings read the earrings
P. 173.	l. 17	,,	mannar read manner
P. 175.	ll. 3, 5 ...	,,	Maninhas read Maminhas
P. 178.		,,	Princes X Luku Kumaru read Princess X Luku Kumaru
P. 179.		,,	(1469-1478) read (1468-1478)
P. 182.	l. 26	,,	Lanbakannas read Lambakannas
P. 184.	l. 15	,,	princess read princesses
P. 186.	l. 33	,,	carriage read coinage
PP. 189, 275, & 290	...	,,	Jeyawardena Kotte read Jayawardana Kotte
P. 202.	l. 7	,,	Paddiodam read Padioddam
P. 230.	l. 10	,,	Moggolana read Moggallana
P. 232.		,,	Senpakap read Senpahap
P. 235.	l. 8	,,	Mr H W. Thambiah read Dr. H. W. Thambiah
P. 239.	l. 16	,,	Teritara read Tiritara
P. 247.	l. 16	,,	has read have
P. 251.	l. 22	,,	seventh read eighth
P. 256		,,	Kassappa I read Kassapa I
P. 256		,,	Dhatysena read Dhatusena
P. 256		,,	Mogallana read Moggallana
P. 258.	l. 21	,,	f China read of China
P. 267	l. 8	,,	Dr. Pope read Sir. P. Arunachalam
P. 276.	l. 14	,,	add read and

P. 280. l. 6 for vary read very
P. 283. l. 1 „ (1877-1949) read (1877-1947)
P. 296. l 21 „ 1936 read 1636
P. 303. l. 20... ... „ 134 read 1834
P. 311 „ Heading—for A Chart of Important Events read Bibliography
PP. 306 & 308 ... „ Sir William Twynum read Sir William Twynam

FOOTNOTE

P. 11. for Plutrach read Plutarch
P. 107. l. 8 „ 889 read 1889
P. 151. l. 7 „ Rebeiro read Ribeiro
P. 190. l. 7 „ Thannakaras read Thanakaras
P. 198. l. 4 „ no shrine read a shrine
P. 222. l. 13 „ Tilokasundari read Tilakasundari
P. 223. read 'Ceylon' Sir Emerson Tennet
P. 237. the asterix refers to 'Nilapavadai'
P. 246. „ Chap. 34.V. 57 read Chap. 34. V. 21

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Printed at the Saiva Prakasa Press, Jaffna.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CENTRAL (New Delhi) 74740